

SELECTED WORKS OF  
GOVIND  
BALLABH PANT

VOLUME

Chief Editor

Govind Ballabh Pant was in the front rank of nationalist leaders who played a key role, first in India's struggle for freedom and subsequently in the politics and administration of independent India. He was a member of the highest policy-making echelons of the Indian National Congress, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, Chief Minister of U. P. and Home Minister in the Union Cabinet headed by Jawaharlal Nehru.

The sixteenth volume of the *Selected Works of Govind Ballabh Pant*, covering a period of nearly nineteen months, opens in January 1955, when Govind Ballabh Pant moved from Lucknow to New Delhi and became the Minister for Home Affairs in the Nehru Cabinet. The Home Ministry was considered one of the prestigious ministries, and Pant soon came to occupy in the Nehru Cabinet a position, which was second only to that of the Prime Minister. He was a pillar of strength to Nehru in dealing with the explosive situation which arose out of the reorganisation of states on a linguistic basis. He also took a keen interest in the preparation of the Second Five Year Plan and other matters of high policy: all this is chronicled in this volume.

The *Selected Works of Govind Ballabh Pant* is a series that will not only document and illuminate the career and personality of an eminent political leader but also provide valuable source material for analysts and scholars of modern Indian politics and history.

**B.R. Nanda**, Chief Editor of the series, formerly Founder-Director of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, is a leading historian of modern India and is the author of *Mahatma Gandhi: A Biography*; *Jawaharlal Nehru: Rebel and Statesman*; *Gokhale, Indian Moderates and the British Raj*; *Gandhi and his Critics*; *Gandhi: Pan-Islamism, Imperialism and Nationalism*; *The Making of a Nation: India's Road to Independence*, and other books.





# SELECTED WORKS OF GOVIND BALLABH PANT

Volume Sixteen

Chief Editor  
B R. NANDA

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume covers the first twenty months of Pant's term as Home Minister in Jawaharlal Nehru's Cabinet from the beginning of 1955 to August 1956. His thirty years' experience of politics and administration in his home province, including ten years as its Chief Minister, stood him in good stead in his effortless transition from the provincial to the central stage. He quickly felt at home in the Home Ministry. He enjoyed the confidence of the Prime Minister with whom he had over the years developed ties of mutual trust and respect.

These early months were marked by relative calm in and outside the country. "There can be no doubt," Nehru wrote in his fortnightly letter to the Chief Ministers on 4 April 1955, "the country is in a mood of hope and expectation. It is looking forward to a more rapid advance and to big achievements." Abroad, India's position as a non-aligned country had begun to be better appreciated, especially after her constructive role behind the scenes in the ending of the Korean War and the conclusion of the Geneva Pact. In April 1955 Nehru attended the Asian-African Conference at Bandung. In June he paid a visit to the Soviet Union where he received a warm welcome. In November, the Soviet leaders, Khrushchev and Bulganin, paid a return visit to India. It came to be increasingly recognized that Nehru was making a contribution to world peace in his role as a potential bridge-builder between the two great power blocs led by the United States and the Soviet Union.

In one of his speeches in the Lok Sabha, Pant, while expressing the confidence and optimism of this period, did not conceal his concern on the problems of maintaining law and order. "It is no credit to us," he said, "that we should have recourse [to firing]. But when arson becomes the order of the minute and when stabbings go on, one has to find some remedy... it is better to save a hundred [lives] even if it involves some injury to one than to let a hundred be killed in order to save one who is indulging in activities of a mischievous type." He had no doubt that the people were "peace-loving and by nature non-violent," but they were sometimes "lacking in discipline and self-restraint" with the result that even minor incidents took a serious turn. The situation was aggravated by the lack of trust between the people and the police. On troubles in north-eastern India also, Pant did some plain speaking. He recalled that in the British days, it was a common practice for the authorities to raid the villages of the recalcitrant Nagas, to burn their houses and to unleash a reign of terror. But the government of independent India had decided to

follow a different policy. It wanted the Nagas to maintain their culture and their way of life and to help them in every way and to secure their cooperation. But it could not condone their resorting to arms. There was, he said, going to be no question of any talks and negotiations with the rebels until they gave up violence.

Pant realized the importance of the higher ranks of the civil services in achieving good governance. He had worked with them before and after independence, and knew their strengths and weaknesses. He acknowledged their capacity for adjustment to the demands of the times. He expressed his appreciation of their contribution to the success of the First Five Year Plan. However, he pointed out that the higher services would be called upon to cater for big industrial undertakings, for scientific and technical ventures and enterprises, and needed to be remodelled to undertake these tasks. The problem, he said, was "how to reorganise the services, how to maintain the principle of inter-changeability and how to maintain a distinction in terms of emoluments." He proposed a committee to go into the problem, but his hopes of such a reorganisation were not to be realized during his term as Home Minister, and indeed even for many years later on.

The greatest political challenge during this period which Pant had to face came with the publication of the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. The Commission, consisting of Syed Fazl Ali, then Governor of Orissa as chairman and Pandit H.N. Kunzru and Sardar K.M. Panikkar as members, was appointed at the end of 1953 in response to the demands for the reorganisation of provincial boundaries on a linguistic basis. The existing provincial boundaries corresponded to the administrative units formed as the British power advanced into India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and cut across linguistic and cultural patterns. A notable example of the result of these accidents of history was that the Maharashtrians were divided among Bombay, the Central Provinces, Mysore and Hyderabad.

The problem had become complex over the years. Gandhi was the first Indian leader to think of reorganising the provinces on linguistic basis; it was obvious to him that if the Congress aspired to develop a mass base, it had to communicate with the people not in English but in their own language in every part of the country. At his instance Congress reorganized its provincial committees on a linguistic basis in 1920-21. It is significant that the election manifesto of the Congress in 1946 included the establishment of linguistic provinces in its agenda. However, after the traumatic effect of the partition, Nehru and his colleagues were reluctant to fulfil this commitment. They feared that language might become as much of a divisive factor as religion had been in the pre-independence days. A committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly to examine the feasibility of linguistic provinces reported against it. In 1949 the Congress Party appointed a high-powered committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya. It also

recommended that the consideration of linguistic provinces should be postponed for ten years, though steps could be taken in individual cases if there was agreement between the parties affected by the proposed reorganisation. The Government had, however, to reckon with an intensive agitation for the separation of Andhra from Madras. The case of Andhra was exceptional in the sense that the Tamils were willing to accept the separation. In 1953, after three days of rioting in the Andhra districts, consequent on the death of a popular Andhra leader by fasting on this issue, the Government of India announced its decision to establish an Andhra province. Predictably this decision gave a fillip to the clamour for linguistic states from other parts of the country. Prime Minister Nehru himself was torn between contrary pulls. On the one hand, he wanted to spare the country new strains so soon after the partition, on the other, his democratic instincts made him sensitive to popular aspirations. However, he saw that a random or ad hoc redrawing of provincial boundaries was undesirable; besides language there were administrative, economic and financial considerations and the maintenance of national unity, which had to be borne in mind. That was why the States Reorganisation Commission was appointed in December 1953. By the time it presented its report in October 1955, Pant was Home Minister.

Two years earlier, soon after the decision to form an Andhra province, Jawaharlal Nehru had written to K.N. Katju, the then Home Minister: "You must observe that we have disturbed the hornet's nest, and I believe most of us are likely to be stung very badly." Nehru's worst fears were confirmed by the bitter controversies stirred by the publication of the report. Writing to the Chief Ministers in October 1955 he detected "something of the fierceness of the approach of a bigoted religion into consideration of linguistic provinces." In his private correspondence he expressed his shock and dismay, but publicly he declared that in any particular case, if the parties concerned reached an agreement, the government would accept it, as it had done in the case of Andhra. Unfortunately, the problem was highly politicized, rousing passions and even sparking off riots. The chief centres of unrest were Punjab where the Sikhs wanted a state of their own, and Bombay City and Marathi-speaking districts, where the people demanded a separate state of Maharashtra instead of being coupled with Gujarat in a bilingual province.

Nehru's dilemma has been summed up by S. Gopal: "Nehru was too sensitive to popular feeling to impose decisions, and yet anxious to reach them as quickly as possible... he allowed himself to be dragged along, shifting course and revising policy as the agitation demanded, appeasing the most vocal sectors and hoping that every compromise arrangement would be the conclusive one."

Pant's major task in this highly surcharged atmosphere was to put an end to violence as quickly as possible, to calm down passions and to seek the widest degree of agreement. From the first he used the Parliament as the forum for seeking reconciliation and a broad national consensus. In his speech when

the report of the States Reorganisation Commission was first discussed by the Lok Sabha in December 1955, he paid a tribute to it: "During the 54 hours that this discussion has been continuously going on, nearly 125 speakers had occasion to express their differing points of view. I have... to congratulate the House for the high level that has been maintained throughout the discussion. I wonder if other Parliaments, which have had very long experience, have shown equal ability, eloquence, restraint, dignity and decorum." Nine months later, after the heat and dust which the report had stirred in the country, he expressed his appreciation of "every member of the Joint Select Committee of the Parliament for their spirit of understanding, accommodation and a desire to look at things from the wider and larger point of view. Continuously there was an effort to adjust the regional demands with the demands of the country and the supreme necessity of preserving and promoting unity." Looking back on the crisis which shook the country during the linguistic reorganisation of states, it seems that it was fortunate that this highly emotive issue was resolved in the mid-1950s, when the country was relatively calm, and in the lifetime of some of the founding fathers of the Indian Republic.

The material published in this volume has been drawn mainly from *Lok Sabha Debates*, 1955, Vols. 3-5, 7, 10, and 1956, Vols. 1-4 and 6, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, 1955, Vols. 9-11 and 1956, Vols. 12-13, records in P.M.O. Secretariat, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India and National Archives of India, Jawaharlal Nehru's papers, Mohanlal Saksena's papers, C.D. Deshmukh's papers, Haribhau Upadhyaya's papers, Brahmanand's papers, Padmaja Naidu's papers, Bhagwan Das' papers and A.I.C.C. (II Instalment) papers in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, K. Santhanam's papers in the National Archives of India, *Second Meeting of National Development Council—Summary Record* (1955), *Eighth Meeting of National Development Council—Summary Record* (1956), *The Hindustan Times*, *Indian Express*, *Hindusthan Standard* and *A.I.C.C. Economic Review* (15 June 1955).

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B.R.N.

# GOVIND BALLABH PANT

## *A Biographical Sketch*

Govind Ballabh Pant played an important role in the Indian struggle for freedom and in the politics and administration of independent India. His political career spanned more than four decades; he was in the highest echelons of the Indian National Congress, rose to be the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, the Chief Minister of U.P., and finally Home Minister in the Union cabinet headed by Jawaharlal Nehru.

"A son of the mountains", is how Jawaharlal Nehru once described Govind Ballabh Pant. Picturesque as the description was, it concealed the long odds against which Pant rose to the top. In fact, it was not much of an advantage to be "a son of the mountains". The Kumaun Hills in U.P. were a social and political backwater. The small town of Almora, where Pant grew up, was little more than an overgrown village, remote from the centres of education and politics in the United Provinces. The British administration of Kumaun had been a benevolent autocracy since the days of General Sir Henry Ramsay, who was Chief Commissioner for twenty-eight years. Pant's own family belonged to the local élite which enjoyed the confidence and patronage of the British officials; his maternal grandfather, Badri Datt Joshi, under whose sheltering care Pant spent his childhood, was the right-hand man of General Ramsay. There was thus little in the social milieu of Almora or Pant's family traditions to nurture a rebel against the British Raj.

Govind Ballabh Pant was born on 30 August 1887 at Khunt, near Almora. His father, Manorath Pant, began his career as an apprentice at the court in Almora and rose to the position of acting naib tahsildar at Haldwani. His mother, Govindi, was gentle and soft-spoken, deeply immersed in prayer, fasting, and other religious practices.

Pant was educated by private tutors at home and went to school at the age of ten. A keen intelligence and a good memory were his strong assets; he passed his matriculation examination in the first division. But his health was delicate and, at the age of fourteen, he suffered a heart attack. His illness dislocated his studies, affected the result of the intermediate examination, and might have stunted his academic career altogether if he had not insisted on going to Allahabad for further studies. His family was understandably reluctant to send him away from home, but relented when he promised that he would return to Almora, if his health deteriorated.

So "with a tilak on his forehead and accompanied by a cook", Pant arrived at Allahabad in July 1905. He was admitted to the Muir Central College and lodged in the Macdonnel Hindu Hostel. There were a number of students from Kumaun and so he was not short of company. Within a few weeks, to the great relief of his family, his health registered an improvement. So there was no question of his returning to Almora. For his degree course Pant took English literature, politics and mathematics, which turned out to be an excellent combination of subjects for his future career in law and politics. In 1907 he joined the law college; among his classmates were Fazl Ali, a future Chief Justice of India's Supreme Court, K.N. Katju, an eminent lawyer who served in Nehru's cabinet, and Narendra Deva, one of the most respected socialist leaders before and after 1947.

In Allahabad, Pant led an active and purposeful existence. Few of his letters from that period have survived, but luckily we have a notebook and a diary pertaining to the years 1906-8—printed in the first volume of this series which provide valuable insights into the development of his mind and character during this formative period. There is little doubt that at twenty, Pant was already a serious-minded youth, imbued with high ambition and a resolve to excel in whatever he undertook. He took his legal studies seriously and was conscientious to a fault. Even an occasional hour spent in gossip left him with feelings of guilt. Once he went to hear a lecture on "Work is Worship". He was an avid reader of newspapers and magazines, which included the British-owned *Pioneer*, the moderate *Modern Review*, *Bengalee*, and *Advocate* of Lucknow, and the extremist journals *Mahratta* and *Bande Mataram*. The wave of patriotic fervour had swept the students of Allahabad off their feet. Even at Almora, Pant had pored over local news-sheets and sung patriotic songs, but in Allahabad the atmosphere was much more, surcharged.

We can sense from Pant's notebook and diary how he had been thrilled by the speeches of political leaders such as Tilak, B.C. Pal, Lajpat Rai, and Gokhale; immediately he was inclined to sympathize with the Extremist group in the Congress, but the most enduring influence on him was that of Gokhale, the youngest and the ablest of the Moderate leaders. Pant was to model himself on Gokhale as an ardent patriot, a parliamentarian who combined earnest study and careful analysis of problems in measured language. When Gokhale died at the age of forty-eight in 1915, Pant wept.

While at Allahabad, Pant scrutinized the daily newspapers to gauge the official response to popular aspirations; he read the annual debates on the budgets in the U.P. Council and the Imperial Legislative Council, and the press summaries of the evidence led before commissions appointed by the Government such as the Decentralization Commission. His interest in politics was not confined to the political scene in India. He scrutinized the reports of the debates on India in the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Pant seems to have recognized very early that India's progress towards self-



government ultimately depended upon the attitude of the British Government. We find him scanning the newspapers for the utterances of British statesmen. In his diary he lauded the role of Liberal and Labour politicians who spoke up for India; he was unhappy when Keir Hardie, the labour leader, who was sympathetic to Indian political aspirations, was rebuffed by a British audience, and delighted when he received an ovation at an Edinburgh meeting. Pant was extremely critical of John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, for his halting and hesitant tone on the next instalment of constitutional reforms.

It is an index of Pant's political perceptiveness that in 1908 he should have been able to sense the importance of Gandhis struggle in far-off Transvaal; he followed the fortunes of the satyagraha campaign almost from day to day.

For a young man of twenty, who had been reared in the backwoods of Kumaun, Pant seems to have acquired a keen sensitivity, not only to politics but to social issues. On the education of women and the remarriage of widows, he held advanced views.

It is not surprising that Pant should have chosen Almora for starting his legal practice. It was his home town, where the Joshi family—the maternal uncles who had brought him up—had great influence. But Pant's position in Almora became untenable when he clashed with a British magistrate. "I shall not let you enter my court", the magistrate thundered. Refusing to be cowed down, Pant retorted: "I would never step into your court again". He decided to move to Ranikhet, but the place was too small, and the judicial officer in Ranikhet was under the magistrate at Almora with whom Pant had fallen out. Pant then decided to settle at Kashipur, a commercial town in Kumaun, to practise in the court of its deputy collector who moved to Naini Tal in the summer months. For the next thirteen years Pant divided his time between Kashipur and Naini Tal. In the course of time Kashipur became the centre not only of Pant's professional work, but also the base for his public life. He succeeded in getting together a few educated young men who were seeking a focus for their patriotic aspirations. In 1914 he established "Prem Sabha" as a forum for discussion of literary and social problems. The same year the Uday Raj Hindu School, with Pant as secretary, came into existence at Kashipur. And finally, in 1916, Pant and his friends founded the Kumaun Parishad to voice the grievances and demands of the people of the Kumaun region.

It is significant that during all these years, Pant's attention was almost wholly concentrated on Kumaun, and that he did not make any serious effort to hobnob with the Congress elite of Allahabad and Lucknow. His legal acumen and study of constitutional problems found expression in articles in the press. When a large deputation of 60 Europeans and 90 Indians presented a "joint address", inspired, if not drafted, by Lionel Curtis of Round Table fame, to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, and the visiting Secretary of State, Edwin Montagu, in Calcutta in December 1917, Pant was outraged by its reactionary tone, and wrote a hard-hitting article in the *Leader*, the nationalist daily of

Allahabad. He described the Joint Address as "a piece of political jugglery", and an exceedingly conservative and illiberal interpretation of the British Government's statement of August 1917.

When the Montagu Chelmsford Report came out in 1918, Pant welcomed it "as a masterpiece of literary style and social ideas", and an honest effort in the direction of responsible government, even though there was scope for improvement in it. Pant also wrote an article on the League of Nations. Knowing as he did, that the British Government considered constitutional reform in India as an "internal matter" for the British Empire, he subtly turned the question of Indian freedom into one of human rights.

It did not take Pant long to establish himself as a lawyer at Kashipur and Naini Tal. His legal practice rose to a thousand rupees a month, a considerable sum in those days for a district lawyer. Pant did not, however, lose himself entirely in the game of making money; he had other ambitions too. He contributed articles to journals and newspapers, set up and ran institutions for the educational and social uplift of Kumaun. He was the founder and secretary of the local school at Kashipur, and the life and soul of the Kumaun Parishad. The fact that his range was limited to a small and somewhat isolated part of U.P. was not altogether a disadvantage for an up-and-coming young lawyer. His ability, integrity, and public spirit soon won him a high position in the public life of the Kumaun region.

For reasons which are not quite clear, Pant was cautious in stepping into provincial politics. It is true that he was present, as a representative of Kumaun, at the historic Congress session at Lucknow in 1916 at which the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League agreed on a joint scheme of constitutional reforms, but he was more of a spectator than an active participant in that Congress. There is little evidence of his taking a stand in the conflict between the Moderate and Extremist factions which split the Congress in 1918. Indeed, in November 1920 he fought the election to the U.P. Council as a representative of the Kumaun Parishad and was defeated. Gandhi had already launched the non-cooperation movement, including the boycott of councils. Not until January 1922 did Pant take the plunge, and cast in his lot with Gandhi. His delayed response seems the more surprising because, many years earlier, even as a student at Allahabad, he had conceived great admiration for Gandhi's heroic struggle in South Africa. The fact is that in the intervening years Pant had been converted to the Moderate creed, ever since he had heard Gokhale at Allahabad. Gandhi's non-cooperation movement contradicted this creed; it not only sanctioned extra-constitutional methods, but called for a boycott of legislatures. To Pant—as to most Congressmen of the pre-Gandhian era—elected legislatures seemed the ideal forum for ventilating Indian grievances and agitating for constitutional reforms. He was drawn to the legislatures instinctively because of his training as lawyer and jurist. There was another consideration which could not but have weighed with him. He had to carry

with him the intelligentsia of Kumaun, and especially the Kumaun Parishad. The Kumaun region had long been a political backwater, cut off not only from the national but from the provincial mainstream. It is significant that, in 1920-21 when the Indian sub-continent was convulsed with grave national and international crises arising out of the martial law in the Punjab and the vicissitudes of the Turkish Caliphate, the people of Kumaun were deeply involved in local struggles against forced labour (*begar*) and oppressive administration of the forest laws. However, by the end of 1921, Pant felt that he could no longer refrain from going the Gandhian way. Soon after his return from the Ahmedabad Congress in January 1922, he gave up his legal practice and threw himself into such activities as promotion of hand-spinning, Hindu-Muslim unity, and the campaign against untouchability. It was a critical moment in the history of the non-cooperation movement. Gandhi was poised to launch civil disobedience, and Pant was ready to go to jail. But early in February 1922, following an outburst of popular violence in eastern U.P., Gandhi applied the reverse gear and called off civil disobedience. The result was collapse of non-cooperation and the emergence of a powerful group within the Congress—the Swarajists—headed by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru, who demanded withdrawal of the boycott of the legislatures.

This unexpected twist to nationalist politics was to open new vistas for Pant's political career. He fought the election to the U.P. Council in 1923 from Naini Tal as a Swarajist candidate and was elected by a huge majority. In January 1924, he arrived in Lucknow and was sworn in as a member of the U.P. Legislative Council. He was one of the thirty members of the Swaraj party, and one of the least known in the province. Motilal Nehru appointed a committee to guide the party. It was Pant's good fortune that the elder Nehru later came down to Lucknow, was impressed by Pant's debating skill, and decided that he should head the party in the U.P. Council.

Pant's election as the leader of the Swaraj party in U.P. in 1924 determined the course of his political career for the next four decades. It is doubtful if he could have superseded better known and more influential Congressmen in his province if the elder Nehru had not intervened and made ability the sole criterion for the choice of the leader. During the next five years Pant ably led the Swarajists. He kept them together, and kept the members of the Government on the defensive. He sought the cooperation of other groups such as the Liberals to embarrass the Government; in this strategy his rapport with C.Y. Chintamani stood him in good stead.

Pant's parliamentary career was in abeyance from 1929 to 1934 during the civil disobedience when the Congress organization was outlawed and thousands of Congressmen were in jail. By a happy coincidence, he found himself a fellow-prisoner of Jawaharlal Nehru in Bareilly and Dehra Dun jails in 1932. From Nehru's jail diaries we learn that they hit it off very well during this term as well as in the Ahmadnagar Fort prison ten years later. Nehru wrote

## A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

that Pant was “lovable company” and “a brave, highly intelligent and absolutely straight man. Always in pain, yet always with a smile.”

This close contact with Nehru became the foundation of mutual esteem and loyalty which lasted until Pant’s death in 1961. In 1934, when the Congress revoked boycott of legislatures and contested elections to the Central Assembly, Pant became deputy leader of the Congress party in the Central Assembly. With Bhulabhai Desai as its leader, and Satyamurti, Asaf Ali, and N.V. Gadgil as office-bearers, the party was rich in debating talent, but Pant was the star performer. He crossed swords with members of the Viceroy’s Executive Council, especially with the Finance Member, Sir James Grigg, who was proud of having worked in the British Treasury and as secretary to Winston Churchill. Pant was more than a match for Grigg. “The Finance Member”, he said during one of the budget debates, “refuses to take note of what has happened since the days of Adam Smith, as he would not perhaps of what has happened since the days of Adam and Eve.” To the oft-repeated assertion that communal differences blocked constitutional progress in India, Pant replied by pointing to the “historical truth” that such differences were inseparable attributes of foreign rule. He recalled Lord Durham’s comment on the ethnic antagonism in Canada on the eve of the grant of self-government to that colony: The French and the British could not play a football match for fear it might lead to murders and other outrages.”

Pant’s entry into the Central Legislative Assembly marked his entry on the national stage, as his entry into the U.P. Council ten years earlier had done on the provincial stage. His inclusion in the Congress Working Committee and association with the Congress Parliamentary Board signified a recognition of his rising stature. In 1939 he executed with aplomb a very delicate assignment at the Tripuri Congress, on behalf of the majority of the members of the Congress Working Committee. He moved a resolution calling upon President Bose to form his working committee in consultation with Gandhi. Pant’s argument was ingenious and persuasive. His resolution, he said, was simply designed to reiterate confidence in Gandhi’s leadership, but was in no way intended to be a vote of no-confidence in Bose.

Two years earlier, in 1937 Pant’s election as the leader of the Congress party in U.P. had seemed a foregone conclusion. Though both Nehru and Patel felt that he could be ill-spared from the Central Assembly, they did not see any alternative to his heading the Congress ministry in U.P. The most notable achievement of Pant’s ministry during the next two and a half years was a tenancy bill which assured tenants security of tenure, fixation of rents by a government agency, and abolition of vexatious restrictions. The bill was carried in the face of stubborn opposition from the Muslim League which turned this, as indeed most other issues, into a communal issue.

In December 1939 when Pant’s ministry resigned in response to a directive from the Congress Working Committee, Jawaharlal Nehru in an unsigned

editorial in the *National Herald* paid a glowing tribute to Pant as Chief Minister: "A man of outstanding charm and ability...the perfect gentleman, loved by his colleagues and respected by his opponents." It is noteworthy that Pant managed to win the cooperation of the British members of the I.C.S. and even the Governor, Sir Harry Haig, who wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow: "an interesting and rather attractive personality", and again, "essentially a conciliator and not a dictator". It must be said to Haig's credit that, after his retirement, in an article in the *Asiatic Review*, he refuted the allegations of the Muslim League against the Pant ministry. "In dealing with communal issues", Haig wrote, "the ministers have, in my judgement, normally acted with impartiality and a desire to do what was fair."

The outbreak of the Second World War triggered off a confrontation between the Indian National Congress and the British Government. The Congress posed two basic problems to Britain: to define the shape of the order for which the war was being waged, and to give India a foretaste of that freedom and democracy for which she was being called upon to fight. Neither the British cabinet headed by Neville Chamberlain and later by Winston Churchill, nor the Government of India presided over by Lord Linlithgow, proved capable of an imaginative stroke of policy to conciliate Indian nationalism. The crisis came to a head with the "Quit India" resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee in August 1942, and the unleashing by the British Government of the severest repression of the Congress in its long history. Pant spent the next three years in the Ahmadnagar Fort prison with other members of the Congress Working Committee. He was released in 1945, and after the general elections in 1946 formed the Congress ministry in U.P. Two years later came the liquidation of British rule and the partition of India.

Pant's immediate task in 1947 was to save U.P. from the wave of communal bitterness and bloodshed which had swept over the whole of western Pakistan, eastern Punjab, and Delhi. With exemplary foresight and firmness he was able to maintain peace in U.P. and to address himself to the tasks of administrative and economic reconstruction. High on his agenda was the abolition of landlordism. A cabinet committee headed by Pant himself prepared the scheme for the abolition of zamindari and equitable compensation to those who were dispossessed. The passage of U.P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act was a landmark; it took effect from July 1952. The Act was amended later for better enforcement, but with the state legislature, dominated as it was by big peasants, land reforms could not be implemented as vigorously as the zamindari abolition.

During his second ministry, Pant made a concerted effort for the economic development of U.P. There was a sizeable increase in the volume of agricultural production: the index rose from 104 in 1951-52 to 110 in 1952-53 and to 113 in 1953-54. Cash crops registered an increase of 4.6 per cent. Rice production went up from 503 lakh maunds in 1952-53 to 598 lakh maunds in 1953-54.

Sugar production went up and a state-owned cement factory was established. The installed capacity of the electricity system which was 43,200 KW in 1945 rose to 256,900 KW in 1955. The irrigation and road networks were also expanded and community project schemes extended to rural areas. Unfortunately, for his home province, Pant did not or could not build up a second line of leadership, free from personal and factional rivalries which could maintain the pace of economic progress which he had initiated.

Jawaharlal Nehru had offered the post of the Finance Minister to Pant in 1950; but he was reluctant to leave U.P., and Nehru did not press him. However, in 1954 Pant agreed to move to New Delhi and was given the prestigious portfolio of the Home ministry which he held for the next six years. This was the period when Nehru's prestige at home and abroad was at its zenith. The country had overcome the dislocation caused by the division of the country, the elections under the new Constitution had been held successfully, the first five-year plan had been launched and communal and caste tensions seemed to be subdued. Two months before Pant joined the cabinet, Prime Minister Nehru assured the Chief Ministers: "There is no doubt that the country is in a mood of hope and expectations. It is looking forward to...big achievements. We have all the basic elements for rapid progress." Abroad too, there was a growing appreciation of India's foreign policy, especially after her behind-the-scenes efforts in promoting the peace process at the end of the Korean war.

This mood of optimism was soon to be tempered by the fierce controversies which broke out after the States Reorganization Commission submitted its report, and the map of India was being redrawn. It fell to Pant to handle the explosive situation created by, what he called, "linguism or linguistic fanaticism." He was a tower of strength to Nehru during this crisis, which he handled with great patience and consummate skill. He warned against making a fetish of language as no state in India was exclusively unilingual; even a language that was the dominant language of the state was not uniformly spoken in all parts of that region. He recalled that Gandhi, who had been in favour of reorganization of the states on a linguistic basis long before independence, had sounded a warning against parochial or narrow tendencies. It was true that language was a powerful factor as it reflected the culture and character of the people, but it could also be a dividing factor; the claims of language had to be adjusted to the needs of national cohesion. He rejected the specious argument that the Soviet Union had given to its constituent republics the status of sub-nationalities; Soviet Russia was in fact "a monolithic state" and the various republics were "merely administrative units". In India the situation was different; the states were autonomous, with definite powers given to them by the Constitution. "We do not believe", Pant said, "in the fiction of a sub-nationality. We all belong to one nation. We live in a union and not in a federation, and we are all citizens of this great Republic."

Three years later, the language issue erupted again on the question of

official language, but Pant again handled it with exemplary patience, impartiality, and dexterity. He persuaded the non-Hindi-speaking people to accept the constitutional settlement; English was to remain as the associate language as long as the non-Hindi-speaking people wanted it, but Hindi was free to become the official language of the Union.

It was fortunate for Pant—and for India—that he was called upon to fill on the political stage the roles of a parliamentarian and administrator for which his talents and temperament had best equipped him. Ten years as the Chief Minister of his home state and six years as Home Minister of the Indian Union gave him a unique experience as an administrator. His capacity for work, despite his ill-health, was prodigious. He could see into the heart of a problem, understand it, and act decisively. He kept the civil servants under him on their toes; they knew his capacity for taking pains and his mastery of detail. While he expected them to give of their best, he never let them down and protected them from unwarranted political interference. His success as a parliamentarian was partly due to his extraordinary capacity for absorbing facts and for recalling them at will, and partly to his mental discipline, the quality of which, according to Durga Das, the veteran journalist, Pant shared with Gandhi so that nothing escaped his lips “that had not been weighed in the scale of wisdom and discretion”. Frank Moraes, another distinguished journalist of the time, described Pant as “the greatest parliamentarian” that India had produced since independence, who combined a vivid clarity of mind with “persuasive and convincing verbal finesse and could demolish an opponent...without leaving a scar. But no one including the victim was left in doubt that the demolition was complete.”

B.R. NANDA

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# GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

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## 1. Need for a Democratic Way of Life<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Chairman,<sup>2</sup> I consider it a privilege to serve in this august House under your kindly eye and inspiring guidance....

Sir, the President's Address has been discussed during the last two days. It is a solemn pronouncement giving a survey of the principal events and policies. It is a matter of gratification that this Address has on the whole been received well in this House; the jarring notes have been very few. On the whole the collective opinion of the House seems to be in favour and in support of the statements made in the Address. Some hon. Members have tried to pick holes, but the Address has nevertheless emerged unscathed and intact. Some amendments had been notified but none seems to have developed any of the propositions set forth in these amendments. Some casual remarks have been made but nobody has felt safe about his own ground, and apart from giving notice of the amendments even those who had given such notice have not pursued them further.

The Government, Sir, respects the opinion of this House and even of individual Members. It will be the endeavour of Government to take full note of every suggestion made in this House. After all, we who are in the executive today owe allegiance to this House and the directions that we receive must be carried out by us.

So, we understand our part but I wish that we could get more of enlightenment and more of sober and practical guidance. Even in a democracy Opposition is not meant only for barren futility. Its contribution is expected to be constructive so that those who are charged with the responsibility of administering the affairs of the State may get assistance, guidance and even inspiration from the collective opinion and wisdom of the House and benefit thereby; but if that is not forthcoming it is a great handicap. Besides, the approach should be a sound one. Often observations are made that nothing has been done. I personally feel that the situation as it exists today is clear enough.

1. Speech in Rajya Sabha, 25 February 1955. Extracts. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. 9, cols.473 and 475-86.

The motion of thanks on President Rajendra Prasad's address to a joint session of both the Houses delivered on 21 February was under discussion.

Pant, who was sworn in as the Union Minister without Portfolio on 3 January 1955, assumed the office of Minister for Home Affairs on 10 January. He was elected to the Rajya Sabha in March 1955 and became leader of the Congress party in the House.

2. S. Radhakrishnan; b.1888; eminent educationist and statesman; professor of philosophy at Calcutta University 1921-41, and of eastern religions at Oxford 1936-52; Vice-Chancellor Benares Hindu University 1939-48; ambassador to Soviet Union 1949-52; Vice-President of India 1952-62, and President 1962-67; d. 1975; works include *Indian Philosophy* (2 vols.) (1923 and 1927), *East and West in Religion* (1933), and *Religion and Society* (1944).

The fundamental facts are, I believe, obvious and indisputable. So far as external affairs go, we are proud of the achievements of our Prime Minister. Even in this House and also in the other, the exponents of a different policy, wedded to a different ideology, have given their bouquets and their plaudits to the Prime Minister and the Government for their foreign policy. It is really something remarkable that within a few years of our achievement of independence the status of our country should have risen so high. The prestige that we are enjoying today is one about which we can speak only with a thrill.

It is a matter of immense joy to us that we have in spite of our numberless physical and economic handicaps successfully contributed towards the preservation and maintenance of world peace and we have succeeded in saving the world when it seemed to be almost on the brink of a precipice and on the crater of a volcano. For this we have to thank the traditions, the soul and the genius of India. It had been suppressed during foreign rule but the moment we came into our own, our heritage began to inspire us and we have been able to accomplish that which nobody could have dreamt of a few years ago.

I would not go into the details of our foreign policy. They are well-known. Only I wish that even in our internal affairs we could quite remember that the principle of coexistence is one which deserves the homage of everyone. We may differ in our views; we may differ even in social opinions but that is no reason why we should not join our hands together in raising the general level of living and of life in this country.

I personally would appeal to all hon. Members of this House, to whichever party they may happen to belong, to shed artificial conjunctions and blind prejudice so that we may all pool together our resources to enable the skeleton to move with a little flesh and to have a small bit of cloth to cover its nudeness. That is what we have to do and sometimes I am amazed that while so much lies to be done we should be fighting over words which do not mean much by themselves but can be pressed into service for polemical reasons, for starting and maintaining fruitless controversies.

While listening to the speeches in this House, I felt some people seemed to be greatly perturbed over the use of "socialist pattern" in the President's Address.<sup>3</sup> I would have thought that genuine socialists would have welcomed the approach. Nobody spurns any offer which brings the other man closer to him even if it does not result in a complete coalescing of the two. But here some of our friends seem to be greatly worried. One would have suspected

3. Bhupesh Gupta of the Communist Party had remarked: "What a wonderful socialism this is that it boosts up the stock market and it is welcomed by the operators in the stock market!" He had made this remark on the President's appeal, contained in his address, to the M.P.s to "advance the country to its cherished goal of a Welfare State and a society conforming to the socialist pattern." S.N. Dwivedy of the Socialist Party and Satyapriya Banerjee of the Forward Bloc had observed that the term "socialist pattern" was quite vague and that the President should have elucidated it further.



that perhaps they were afraid that they were going to lose their trade mark. Perhaps the wares of their trade were being shifted away from their monopolistic grip; otherwise I do not see why they should have felt so unnecessarily upset. But I must say that the facts of the situation, apart from anything, cannot but lead one to the conclusion that the only pattern of society that you can develop in our country can be a socialistic one. The reasons are plain. We are an underdeveloped country. We have to raise the stature and the status of the common man. We have to produce more; in order that we may continue this process of greater and greater production, every person here must have the purchasing power which will enable him to make use of the goods that we produce.

The question today, I think, that confronts us is not so much of increased production as of increased opportunities of consumption. Even today we have seen that as a result of the four years' working of the Five Year Plan the volume of goods that we are producing is not supposed to be inadequate for the purchasing capacity of our people with the result that prices have sometimes tumbled down and have given cause for thought. What we need today is that there should be equitable distribution. We should aspire for an egalitarian society not on any theoretical or merely ideological grounds but unless every man is clothed and enabled to live a good and full life from cradle to grave, we will not be discharging the duty that we owe to our people or to the world. It is because of the compulsion of these facts that one has to accept the socialist pattern. Besides, we have our own Constitution and we have pledged ourselves therein that we will work for a society in which justice, social, political and economic, will prevail. We have our Directive Principles. We have the history of the Congress. In these circumstances, what we have done is no more than what would be inevitable in an evolutionary process. In the circumstances, any doubts that we may entertain in any quarter, I think, are either self-produced or due to lack of knowledge of the economic developments that have been taking place in our country.

We want, Sir, to apply our minds to the problems which are facing us and one of them is the complex problem of unemployment. It is a problem of tremendous magnitude. I do not accept that there has been no increase in employment in recent years.<sup>4</sup> That is wrong. We have spent several crores of rupees during the last four years of our Plan—something like 1,200 to 1,400 crores have, I think, already been spent. Well, of course, when money is spent, then either in the form of labour or in the form of goods or in the form of commodities and ultimately in the form of labour itself, some *quid pro quo* is obtained for it.

4. Bhupesh Gupta had stated that "unemployment in the country is growing apace. You will find unemployment has grown from 4,93,000 in July 1953 to 5,89,000 in July 1954 "

So, considering the progress that has been made in the agricultural and in the industrial field, it would be idle to suggest that there has been no increase in employment. But while there has been an increase in employment, while there has been considerable expansion in our industrial and agricultural production, the fact remains that what we have to do is tremendously more than what we have been able to achieve. So, let us concentrate on that and see how we can achieve that. We have prepared a Plan and we have been working on it. We are engaged in drafting another Five Year Plan and we shall, in the natural order and in the ordinary course, devote our energies to the implementation of that Plan. Well, unemployment can be removed only by carrying out the work of construction of a great and new India in a methodical way.

But some of those who shout about the existence of unemployment would not allow the avenues of employment to function in a normal way. There are members of a party which has made it its rule to thwart, to obstruct the implementation of the Plan. Whenever any measures are taken, they denounce the Plan and they ask the people not to co-operate. I would ask them to ponder over their attitude. Do they want poverty to be perpetuated so that the creed of subversion may find some asylum within the broken bones of the skeleton? Do they want to deepen the pangs of unemployment so that they may find a congenial soil for the germs which only subversive sources can supply? I would otherwise have been able to find or to offer an explanation.

Sir, we want progress in our country. We want to go as fast as we possibly can and my own feeling is that the money handicap need not come in our way. As we produce more, our capacity for circulating more money *pari passu* increases. As it increases we produce more and so on the spiral goes on rising and expanding too. In that way we can do a lot, but in order that we may be able to do so, it is necessary that public order should be maintained. If there is disorder, if there is interference with the normal flow of life, then inundations follow and even safe and fertile regions are overflowed. So, we have to take particular care that way.

The first condition of progress in our country is non-violence-- non-violence in spirit, non-violence in action, non-violence, if possible, in thought too. But organised violence is the enemy of progress. In these days, perversions, inversions and distortions—once used to be called by the lofty name of 'Satyagraha'—are pressed into service to clog the wheels of progress.

I am sorry, Sir, that there have been certain developments in the small State of Manipur about which an amendment had been notified here. It is a small State on the borders of Burma and Pakistan. The population does not exceed seven lakhs. Three languages are spoken and I doubt if any one of the three understands the other two. Then, the people there are simple, unsophisticated, guileless, easily to be carried away.

In that State, which is one of the 'C' Class States, a movement was started in November last year by a particular political party demanding immediate

establishment of a legislature and a Ministry in that State.<sup>5</sup> Well, that Party itself stands for merger of that state with Assam. The part 'C' States Act was passed only, I think, about the end of 1951. The Parliament as it then existed almost accepted unanimously—I might even drop 'almost'—the proposal that Manipur should not have a legislature.<sup>6</sup>

After that we know what happened in the solitary P.S.P.-governed State in the country,<sup>7</sup> and that too over an agitation, more or less, of a similar character. The demand was that the southern part of Travancore should be amalgamated with Tamil Nad. It was resisted by the P.S.P.- sponsored Government and it led to very dismal consequences—lathi charges, arrests of hundreds, shooting, and what not.....

An hon. Member: Also looting.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: Well, I think, you know better. All that was there, but it is strange that after all this experience and after the resistance offered by the P.S.P. to this demand—and I think they were right so far as I am concerned, that when the States Reorganisation Commission is sitting—to demand an immediate change in the status of any part of our country is nothing but what one would think of in a midsummer night. Well, that is what happened and the people there, being simple, followed the lead. And this agitation started in November 1954. Long after all that had happened in Travancore-Cochin had been noticed, perhaps with real gloom and sorrow, by the P.S.P. people and there had been that historical controversy started by one of their foremost leaders about the propriety of having recourse to shooting, but after all this agitation was started there. The officers were prevented from entering into their rooms, the passages to the Secretariat were blocked, the main roads were blocked. At one time, one of the Councillors was kidnapped—almost—so that he might be compelled to put in his resignation. Now, I have never come across a more senseless agitation. And, so long as this spirit continues, I do not know how the progress that we all desire can be achieved.

My sympathies are entirely with the people of Manipur. I personally feel that we have not done our duty by the tribal people. While men from very distant countries have come to serve them, we have ourselves failed to do our part in a befitting way. I think we have to make amends for that. We should provide all possible facilities to enable them to lead a better and a fuller life. We should do all we can to preserve their rich culture, and, at the same time, to make their lives better, less hard and more comfortable than they happen to be at present.

5. This movement was started by the Praja Socialist Party.

6. Commenting on the situation in Manipur, S.N. Dwivedy had observed that it was unfortunate that the Government was not paying any heed to the demand of the people of Manipur for the establishment of a representative and elected government, and was instead following a policy of ruthless suppression.

7. The reference was to the state of Travancore-Cochin.

Dr. Katju,<sup>8</sup> I think, in December, made a declaration in Parliament that so long as the Report of the States' Reorganisation Commission was not available, nothing could be done, but after the Report had been received, the recommendations of the Commission along with public opinion of the people of the State would be taken into consideration. But still this sort of disastrous campaign goes on, and I am sorry that it should go on.

I appeal to all those concerned, who can help us with their good offices, to put an end to this sorry chapter. I do not want to have recourse to violence or force under any circumstances, but, under no circumstances, so far as I am concerned, will I allow public disorder in any part of this country. Come what may, order will remain till the end. I would not allow hundreds to be jailed or to be thrown into dungeon simply because one man is given a free licence and latitude to carry on a sort of suicidal war from day to day, unchecked, unhampered and uncontrolled. That will not happen.

I want the democratic way of life to thrive in our country, so that every man enjoys the climate of fellowship, comradeship and friendship with everyone else in the society, and feels joy in the welfare of the whole, and realises that he cannot himself have a good day, if others are in the shade. That is what democracy demands. It can thrive only on a correct cultural background.

Let us all, therefore, apply our minds, to the problems that face us, dispassionately, and with a desire to solve them, and with a determination that the era of foreign rule having ended, what is left behind and is still lingering—poverty and unemployment—will also be destroyed and will find no place anywhere in any corner of this great, ancient and big country. Let us take that pledge, and let us apply ourselves to that.

Then there has been a lot of argument as to why in Travancore-Cochin a Government of a constitutional type should have been set up.<sup>9</sup> Everybody knows the story of Travancore-Cochin. Then, is it the wish of the House that every year we should have general elections in States? And, if that be not their wish, is it their wish that the President's rule should come in as often as you can manage to introduce it? Is it not an act of self-denial on our part?

What happened in Travancore-Cochin? Just some time ago an election was held, because no party there was in an absolute majority. There were groups, and they could not function together. An election was held, and I think

8. K.N. Katju; b. 1887; freedom fighter and eminent lawyer and advocate of Allahabad High Court; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; editor *Allahabad Law Journal* 1918–46; member U.P.P.C.C. and A.I.C.C. till 1946; chairman Allahabad Municipal Board 1935–36; Minister of Justice, Industries and Development U.P. 1937–39 and 1946–47; member Constituent Assembly 1946–47; Governor of Orissa 1947–48, and West Bengal 1948–51; Union Minister for Home Affairs and States 1952–55, and Defence 1955–57; Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh 1957–62; d. 1968.

9. In Travancore-Cochin, a P.S.P. Ministry led by Pattom Thanu Pillai was formed in March 1954 with the support of the Congress.

it was completed only in March last year. After that, what may look as somewhat odd, a party which had only 19 Members was allowed to function. Well, it was again an act of self-denial. And the leader of the party of 19 Members declared at that time that he would not stay for a day more anytime the Congress wanted him to go away. But many things followed. As I said, there was an agitation, there were murders, there were lathi-charges, and all that. And the people felt that a change had become inevitable. Of course, the 19 Members, whose number had slightly gone down by that time, were not allowed by sufferance to continue further.

Then, after that, what was to be done? The Leftist parties wanted the Rajpramukh to try them, but they could not form a majority. These 19 Members while going out from a place to which they had no right wanted to put an end to the Assembly itself. Well, of course, there is no place for gratitude in politics, but there must be, I think, some restraint, so that decency may be maintained. They did not like anybody to come forward, but there was a majority and the Rajpramukh installed them in office. What was wrong about it, I do not know, but there has been a lot of hullabaloo about it. I do not yet realise why. I think that what was done was quite proper and that was the duty of the Rajpramukh to do.

There have been also other complaints about the Andhra elections. Well, I will not deal with that matter here, because I had something to say about it the other day.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, I am pressed for time, and Dr. Kunzru having always made a concession to me, I will not impose any greater strain on him.

Shri H.N. Kunzru:<sup>11</sup> Go on.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: With his blessings I will say only a few words more. Shri Ranga referred the other day to the important question of the decline in the prices of agricultural products.<sup>12</sup> I myself attach considerable sig-

10. Speaking in the Lok Sabha on 22 February, Pant had claimed that in the Andhra State Assembly elections 60 to 70 per cent of the voters had cast their votes and that the elections held on 11 February were free and fair. The elections were organised by the Governor C.M.Trivedi as the State was under President's rule at that time. In the elections the Congress secured a majority, and Gopala Reddy became the Chief Minister.

11. B.1887; member of Servants of India Society; member Indian Legislative Assembly 1927-30; president National Liberal Federation 1934; member Council of States 1937-46; member Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament 1946-52; president Indian Council of World Affairs 1948-77; member Rajya Sabha 1952-62; member States Reorganisation Commission 1953-55; d.1978.

12. Referring to the decrease in procurement prices of foodgrains, N.G. Ranga of the Krishikar Lok Party (K.L.P.) had remarked that when salaries of clerks, industrial workers and officers were being increased "is it not reasonable for the agriculturists who stand for 70 per cent of our population to ask for remunerative prices?"

N.G.Ranga; b. 1900; kisan leader and Congressman from Andhra; member Central Legislative Assembly 1934-46; member Rajya Sabha 1952-56 and 1977-79; member Lok Sabha 1957-70, and re-elected in 1980; d. 1995.

nificance to the remarks that he made. I think that the Government should be alert and watchful. If the millions living in the countryside have no purchasing power, then nothing can be done in this country. So, care has to be taken to see that some parity is maintained, that wherever there are surplus products, money is poured in through constructive works so that the purchasing power is raised, and along with that the question of having ceiling and floor prices may also be considered, but the question is one which merits consideration and a serious one too. I took the step of announcing that, if wheat prices went below Rs.10, wheat would be purchased by the State, and it did go down below that in U.P. Whether that course would prove effective everywhere, I cannot say, but the question should be considered whenever it arises.

Some reference was also made in this House to Goa.<sup>13</sup> It is but natural. It is really—I would not say impudent but—inconsiderate on the part of the Portuguese Government that they should resist this natural and legitimate claim of India. They seem to forget that, even when we had no authority, we succeeded in wresting power from the greatest imperialistic State of the day, and to imagine that they could now retain Goa shows bankruptcy even of imagination. So far as the Government is concerned, it has taken effective steps to maintain peace in the world. It stands for non-violence and that is its creed. I only hope that they will yield under the tremendous strain imposed on them. The Government has also taken economic measures.

The people of Goa have every right to determine their future, and we know what their wishes are. So, it is not a question of taking away anything from Portugal but it is a question of the population there which intelligently, deliberately, after full thought, want to link their future with that of their motherland, being kept forcibly from doing so. So far as India is concerned, they have naturally our sympathy. The Government is doing whatever it can consistently with its principles, and I think the pressure of the people and of this Government will prove fruitful. I am using the word 'pressure' as Dr. Kunzru had used it several times. From whom he was then apprehending pressure. I do not know, but so far as I am concerned, I will go on pressing him for doing the right thing not only now but always and hereafter.

Well, Sir, I have taken more time than I ought to have, and I thank you.<sup>14</sup>

13. S.N.Dwivedy had observed that had the Government not stood in the way of the people and banned the Indian citizens from participating in the liberation movement the problem of Goa would have been solved by now.

14. After this, all the amendments moved to the motion were either withdrawn or rejected by voting and the motion of thanks on the President's address was passed by the House.

## 2. Reorientation of the Policy of Home Ministry<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have listened to the speeches that were delivered yesterday and on the day before on the demands for the Ministry of Home Affairs with interest and profit.<sup>2</sup> I am really thankful to the hon. Members for the kind words that some of them have said about me. The helpful and constructive way in which the demands were handled and the affairs of the Ministry were reviewed will hearten us in the Ministry of Home Affairs in the performance of our duties. I have taken note of the various suggestions that have been made. I appreciate them and may I also say that I agree with a good lot of them? I need not say more with regard to matters of detail at this stage. I may have occasion, provided I can find time, to do so later.

The Home Ministry deals with varied and manifold functions. Some of them are really delicate. But it is a matter of gratification that our lapses and deficiencies have not overshadowed the little that we may have attempted to do with as much success as could accrue only through the cooperation of hon. Members of this House. The Home Ministry has really to assume responsibility for everything which does not come within the ambit of any other Ministry. So it is, in a way, the "refuse" of all Ministries—you may interpret the word in any way you like.

One of the speakers here referred to the claws and teeth of the Home Ministry. He seemed to be still living in the antediluvian age. We are living in a dynamic age and things are changing from day to day. The Home Ministry, no doubt, continues to be responsible for the maintenance of peace and order and for the enforcement of the laws passed by the representatives of the people. But it has made up its mind to depend on them even for the maintenance of public order and tranquillity, as in a democratic country it is only through democratic discipline and the cultivation of a proper sense of civic responsibility that the structure and fabric of peace can be maintained in its proper dignity. So, if hon. Members are pleased to look at the various Acts that were passed in the course of the last twelve months on the initiative of the Home Ministry, they will find that the energies of the Home Ministry have been directed more towards the enlargement of individual liberty than towards its restriction. In the olden days, the Home Ministry was supposed to be the fountain or source of all restrictive laws and ordinances, which were intended to curb the basic and fundamental liberties of individual citizens. If we now consider our position in the new context, we have naturally to see to it that the vast

1. Speech in Lok Sabha, 12 April 1956. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 2, cols. 5113–28.

2. The demands in respect of the Home Ministry for 1956–57 had been moved under several heads including Cabinet, Police, Privy Purses and Allowances of Indian Rulers, and Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

mass of the people themselves perform this noble task of maintaining public order in the country.

No Government by itself, especially if it is a democratic Government, can maintain order against the wishes or without the active cooperation of the people. We are working for the achievement of a social objective. We have decided to establish in our country a society on a social pattern in which all citizens will be equal. Such a society contemplates not only an equal sharing in the advantages and the bounties which the resources of the country can endow, but also a partnership in the performance of other duties which are precedent and essential for the enjoyment of those privileges. So, we have tried to relieve the citizen to the extent we could of any fetters which were binding him. We expect a greater and higher sense of duty to develop in him in consequence of this step taken by us.

There was a reference the other day by one hon. Member here to the Press (Objectionable Matter) Act, 1951 which no longer finds place on the statute book. When the Act was passed there was a sharp controversy in this House. It was regarded as a sword that would hang over the press in this country. That Act no longer exists. Thus we have contributed to some extent towards the relief of those engaged in the noble profession of journalism by allowing this Act to lapse. I hope if there are still any black sheep in that fold, then the leaders of the press for whom every one of us has great regard will prove equal to the task and see that such lapses do not occur because of the lapsing of this law.

Similarly, if you look at other pieces of legislation that were adopted by the House during the last 12 or 13 months, you will find that we have throughout made an attempt to foster the growth of an atmosphere which is necessary for the development of a clean, healthy society. The Whipping Abolition Act abolished the degrading and coarse method of punishing persons who might be found guilty even by competent tribunals.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, we had the Prevention of Corruption Act, which, as its very name indicates, was designed to help in the prevention and eradication of corruption. The other Acts which were passed are also known to the Members of this House. The Prize Competition Act was adopted to put an end to a practice which had been causing loss and damage not only to the economic but also to the moral life of most of the middle-class men.<sup>4</sup> The other Acts which were introduced include the Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Bill, which is intended to prevent the production of what are known as horror comics in this country.<sup>5</sup> I need not refer to

3. For Pant's speech on the Whipping Abolition Bill see *post*, pp. 351–57.

4. For Pant's speech on the Bill to restrict crossword puzzle prize competitions see *post*, pp. 209–15.

5. The Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Bill, first moved in 1955, was re-introduced by Pant in the Lok Sabha on 22 November 1956 and passed.



other Bills. But all that we have done, I can humbly submit, has been directed towards the elevation of the general level of society, towards the growth of a spirit of real freedom along with that of responsibility. So, I would appeal to the Members to bear this in mind which might in a way be considered a reorientation of the policy of the Home Ministry, while they examine and assess its acts and omissions. I can say this much that I feel that ultimately real liberty lies in internal discipline, in the sense of regard for other people's rights, and so long as that principle is observed, no Government need interfere. But it is the function, it is the primary duty of a Government to see that the vast mass of simple citizens do not suffer on account of havoc committed by a few bullies or miscreants. If such an occasion arises, then Government has to step in in order to maintain and protect the liberties of a large section of the community. The interference is necessitated by the need of maintaining the freedom of the people and not by any desire to curb it. I can say this much that the Government will not fail in its duty of maintaining public order under any circumstances whatsoever. It does not want to have recourse to coarse methods, but the primary responsibility of maintaining internal security is that of the Government, and whatever means and methods may be necessary to ensure that end will have to be used with due regard for the sentiments and the democratic set-up in which we have to function. Some doubts were raised as to what would happen if there were any trouble on the border. I personally do not believe that anyone will venture to start a war against India. So far as I am concerned, we are determined to maintain peace not only in our country but also to the extent our humble resources and position permit us in the world too.

So, with our principles of coexistence, we would not like to be aggressive, and we would do the utmost that we can to adopt those methods which are necessary, apart from other things, for the development of an underdeveloped country, for once you go to war, then you lose the opportunity for serving the masses constructively. We will not do that. That is our determination and resolve. We want to be friends with everybody and, still more, with our neighbours. But if, unfortunately, anything happens, you will not find the Home Ministry napping; it will be doing its duty, and it will do its duty with humility and with prayer for the well-being of all.

In connection with this, I may also state that it is not only the legislation which was brought before the House, but also other activities which we have initiated. That will confirm what I have stated. We are going to start an institute, not for giving instruction in methods of warfare, but for giving training in the methods of affording relief in emergencies to the sufferers. Whether it be some distress, or whether it be famine, or whether it be an earthquake, we will have a trained set of people who will minister to the needs of men and women in their hour of trial. Similarly, we are going to start a fire service school in which people will be trained so as to defend the houses of the poor against the

ravages of fire. We are also going to set up a number of homes all over the country for the reclamation of the fallen women and for the correction, by formative and constructive methods, of delinquent children and others similarly placed. That will indicate how our mind is working, and what we propose to do.

The Home Ministry is responsible for the protection of the people against mischief-mongers and others who often indulge in unsocial activities. We have, however, only a limited scope so far as that goes. The States have their own police, and they are in charge of law and order. But hon. Members will be glad to know that, on the whole, our country is more peaceful than any other civilised country in the world. If you will look at the figures of cognizable crimes in our country and in other countries, you will find that the number and the proportion in our country is the lowest.

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I am sorry that because of the fomentation of trouble, sometimes by responsible persons, who will not listen to reason and will disregard the elementary duty that they owe to the unsophisticated masses in the country, occasions do arise when, in order to protect property against arson, masses of people against killing, even firing has to be resorted to. It has been my desire, and it is my wish, to see that some substitute could be found. I have been looking into the matter. I have tried to discuss it with the people who, I think, share this view that firing should be ostracized. I wish something could be done. I shall be glad if Shri Kamath<sup>6</sup> will give his recipe.

Shri Kamath: My party, the Praja Socialist Party, has adopted a report on this subject.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I have seen that report.

Shri Kamath: I will commend it to him.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I have seen that report and that report exactly tallies with and conforms to the existing rules.

Shri Kamath: No, no. Not at all, not at all. Let him read it carefully.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I have been interpreting the words of the report in the normal sense.

Shri Kamath: There is only one sense.

Pandit G.B. Pant: If there is something behind it, then the mystery will have to be cleared.

Shri Kamath: We will discuss it together.

6. H.V. Kamath; b. 1907, resigned from I.C.S. to take part in the freedom movement and imprisoned 1940-45; member A.I.C.C. 1938; secretary National Planning Committee 1938-39; general secretary All India Forward Bloc 1939-46; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952 from Hoshangabad (Madhya Pradesh) as an independent candidate, but joined Praja Socialist Party in 1953, re-elected in 1962; d.1982.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Anyway, I would be happy if no such occasion ever arose. It is no credit to us, it is no credit to our people that we should have had recourse to such things. But when arson becomes the order of the minute and when stabbings go on, one has to see that some remedy is found. It is better to save a hundred even if it involves some injury to one than to let a hundred be killed in order to save one who is indulging in activities of a mischievous type. So far as the principle goes, I agree and I do not feel happy over it.

In this connection, I may submit that my friend—I do not know what I should say, my respected friend or my beloved friend—Shri Gadgil again referred with all earnestness to the need for an inquiry into recent Bombay incidents.<sup>7</sup> I do not want to argue or reason with him, for these days his windows have been closed and his mind is not open to reasoning. But I submit that there can be no question of condemnation of any community; it is impossible. The Maharashtrians are a valiant race, for whom we all have nothing but respect; no community, at the same time, can claim that there are no black sheep in its fold. They are in every community. But that does not reflect on any community as such. Otherwise, all communities will have to share the blame. But if some people did the mischief, it is also to be remembered that the police in Bombay mostly consisted of Maharashtrians and to them goes the credit of maintaining the peace of Bombay in its hour of trial. So we should not look at things except in a correct perspective and we should also appreciate the difficulties of those who have to maintain peace and order in big cities where once the fire breaks out it becomes extremely difficult to extinguish it.

While referring to this subject of law and order, I may also mention what we have been doing in order to remove and eradicate corruption. The canker is there. It is a matter of deep distress to us that even after the achievement of independence, we should not have succeeded in establishing absolute purity in our services. There is no doubt progress and there is no doubt steady advance, but such abhorrent and abominable methods cannot be tolerated. So we have started a Vigilance Division in our Ministry. It is in charge of a Director of Vigilance, and we have appointed Vigilance Officers in every Ministry whose duty is to see that the wrong-doers in their respective Ministries are duly and effectively punished and the methods which may not have proved successful so far may bear adequate results.

7. N.V. Gadgil had demanded a judicial enquiry into the incidents of arson, looting and rioting that took place in Bombay for about a week soon after the announcement made by the Central Government on 16 January 1956 that Bombay city would be a Centrally-administered city rather than a part of the State of Maharashtra. The police had resorted to firing several times during the week.

N.V. Gadgil; b. 1896; a leading Congressman of Maharashtra; elected to Central Legislative Assembly in 1934; Union Minister for Works, Production and Supply 1947–52; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952 from Poona (now Pune); Governor of Punjab 1958–62. Vice-Chancellor of Poona University 1964–66; d. 1966.

from the satisfaction one feels when one sees the growth of developmental activities regulated and guided by him from day to day.

The question of general recruitment also has been engaging our attention. I do not feel quite sure if the system of *viva voce* or the oral examination is essential to such an extent that one should necessarily qualify in that. This should be a part of the system of recruitment but all marks would be added up in order to see whether a candidate is fit. Failure in the *viva voce*, while one is otherwise qualified, should not come in the way of his entry into public service, because one cannot be too sure about the judgement formed about another man's capacity, personality, genius or merits in the course of a few minutes. So, it is worth considering whether this change should not be made.

There have been certain demands by men who are not high-placed; and, it is worthwhile considering whether they should not get some relief. The grade IV servants are not given leave to the same extent and in the same manner as the higher and superior officers get. I see no reason why they should not be treated on a par with others.

Similarly, in the olden days, there was a system of privilege tickets for people who had to come from long distances when they came to join the services or when they went out to their homes. I think it is desirable that this system should be introduced with such modifications as time may require. I also feel that those who have legitimate grievances should get ready redress. Some of our III Division clerks who formerly used to receive Rs.60 were given a start of only Rs.55 after the Pay Commission's Report. This has entered their soul. I think that all those who were recruited at Rs.55 must get Rs.60 so that this grievance may be removed.

There are other matters pertaining to the services, but I will not take more time over them as a number of other subjects remain to be touched.

The demands of the backward classes, especially the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, always seem to me to be just and fair, even if to some others they may appear or look otherwise, because they have suffered for long. It is my desire and my ambition that we may succeed in raising them to the common level so that they may live as self-respecting citizens of this land on a platform of equality with the highest citizens in this country. With this object in view we have been trying to do what we can for them.

I have tried to secure a higher amount for them for the next five years than they had during the last five. The amount that they had previously, during the last five years, was about Rs.39 crores—Rs.20 crores in the States and Rs.19 crores at the Centre. This amount of Rs.39 crores has now been raised to Rs.90 crores—Rs.58 crores in the States and Rs.32 crores at the Centre. I would very much like to have a detailed programme so that this money may be well used. I propose to set up almost immediately two Boards, one for the welfare of Harijans and another for the welfare of tribal people, so that we

may have their close association and active help in seeing these plans through, in carrying a campaign for the removal of untouchability and in doing whatever may possibly be done for them in order to raise them culturally, economically and in other ways. I think it is not necessary for me to go into other matters of detail.

I would, however, refer to two small points which were mentioned in the course of the discussion.

It was said that no Scheduled Caste member had been sent in a delegation outside the country. That seems to me to be wrong.

Shri B.S. Murthy:<sup>9</sup> May I say this? I did not say so. I only said that sufficient representation was not being given for the members of the Scheduled Castes, both official and unofficial. I did not say that nobody had been sent abroad.

Pandit G.B. Pant: You may not have said that, but that is the impression which I have got in my mind. Shri B.S. Murthy went two times to foreign countries with the I.L.O. Delegation; Shri P.S. Naskar twice to U.N.O.; Shrimati Khongmen, Scheduled Tribes Member, to U.N.O.; Shri Rameshwar Sahu with the Parliamentary Delegation to Soviet Russia; Shri Rajabhoj with the Parliamentary Delegation to Turkey; Shri Barman with the Parliamentary Delegation outside India. I do not mean to suggest that more should not be sent, but let us have correct facts before us before we venture to make a criticism.

It was also said in the course of the discussion yesterday that in Sitapur the Bar Association had refused to admit a member of the Scheduled Caste because he was a member of the Scheduled Caste. I asked my Ministry to telephone to the District and Sessions Judge of Sitapur and to enquire from him. I have got a reply from him. He says that the Bar Association has a rule, according to which one can be admitted when one is supported only by two-thirds of the members. Two-thirds of the members did not assemble. It is difficult for two-thirds of the members to assemble at any time. So, I think the rule has to be changed. I shall myself be writing to the Bar Association that they should not expose themselves to such criticism. It has been ascertained by telephone from the District Judge, Sitapur, that so and so could not be elected to the Bar Association because only 60 members out of the 106 exercised their votes and this did not constitute a two-thirds majority as required by the rules and the election was, therefore, declared invalid. So far as the question of untouchability is concerned, members of the Association did not believe in it.

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Some reference was made to Manipur, Tripura and the Naga hills. As to

9. B.S. Murthy, who belonged to a scheduled caste, was the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party member of Lok Sabha for Eluru (Madras).

Manipur, the hon. Member from that place has spoken well of the Chief Commissioner. I have myself taken special interest in the affairs of that State, and I think my friend, Shri Rishang Keishing,<sup>10</sup> will admit that we have been in close touch with each other. And I have been co-operating with him to the maximum extent possible because I personally feel that we should handle the affairs of the Naga people and of the tribal people with extreme tenderness, that we should do all we can for their uplift, for their economic and other benefits, although we should protect their culture and not interfere with it in a wanton way. They are our brethren. They belong to our country. We should not do anything that would hurt their susceptibilities.

Having said that, I have a word to say about the Naga movement and the Naga National Council to which Shri Rishang Keishing referred in an impassioned way.<sup>11</sup> It is a matter of real anguish to us that affairs should have taken such a turn in the Naga hills district. But, who is to blame for it? Can anyone else, except Mr. Phizo<sup>12</sup> and his group, be held responsible for it? How did the present stage arise?

Some time ago the Naga hill people refused to have their Council to which they were entitled under the Constitution. All efforts made to secure their co-operation—as Phizo had command of these people as he claimed—were check-mated. By and by, many of these people came to appreciate the position. The Government of Assam did its utmost. Phizo saw the Chief Minister twice at least. I think they assured him that they stood only for non-violence and that they would never have recourse to violence.

What followed? Sikhri,<sup>13</sup> who was the leader of the liberal group and who did not stand for independence and who wanted union with India, was tied to a tree and shot by Phizo. After that, this campaign of massacre was conducted. We were interested in protecting the innocent Nagas who were being ruthlessly killed by Phizo and his gangmen. They had to be protected. Whoever was suspected of having sympathy with the liberal group was shot or killed or his village was set on fire and all these things were done.

10. B. 1921; Headmaster Christian High School Ukhrul 1949–52; member Lok Sabha 1952–57 and 1962–67; member Manipur Territorial Council 1957–62; member of Manipur Vidhan Sabha for several years from 1972; Minister in Manipur 1974–77, and Chief Minister 1980–84, 1985–88 and 1994–97.
11. Rishang Keishing had criticized the Government for suppressing the Naga movement ruthlessly and making a large number of arrests. The movement for the establishment of an independent Naga state, which was led by the Naga National Council, had taken a violent turn since early 1955.
12. A.Z. Phizo; leader of the Naga National Council since 1946; fled India in 1958 to elude arrest on charges of murder.
13. T. Sikhri; secretary of Naga National Council 1946–55; resigned from it in 1955 and formed the Liberal Party which secured solution of the Naga problem through negotiations; assassinated in January 1956.

In the circumstances, what could any Government do? What duty did it owe to the law-abiding section of the people? In the circumstances, to blame the Government of Assam is hardly fair. The Prime Minister himself met the Naga people more than once. You know his own feelings towards them and the views that he entertains on the subject. In spite of his efforts, no response came from that quarter.

Shri Kamath: Has the Government, at any time, made an offer of a completely autonomous State or area, within the Indian Union, to the Naga National Council?

Pandit G.B. Pant: If Shri Kamath means that, if he does not agree to set up an autonomous union in the Naga hills district, then the Nagas should be given the licence to kill anybody and everybody, I do not agree with him.

Shri Kamath: That is not it; you are misleading the House.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I am telling you to consider it. You better read the Constitution. The Constitution was framed with due regard for the needs and sentiments of these people. Autonomous districts were established and a special provision was made for that in the Constitution. In spite of that, these efforts are being made by the Naga National Council. There are Nagas in other parts of Assam too. They are all working according to the Constitution and developing their parts of the country. It is only Phizo's baneful influence which has stood in the way of the growth and development of the Naga hills. Sometimes the teachers have been killed; sometimes others have been treated in a most cruel manner.

In the circumstances, we do not know what we could do. If Phizo and his gang feel that they owe allegiance to this country or, if they are in a mood to accept that the Naga hill is a part of India, it is open to them to make suitable advances. They can certainly call off their campaign of hatred and bloodshed and appeal for mercy. Those who have been guilty of murders will necessarily have to pay the penalty, but the misguided people who are doing such things will certainly be treated with consideration.

I do not know if I have exceeded my time. I have to answer many other queries and many other points which were raised in the course of the discussion. But I should not make any inroads on your patience. I am thankful to you and to the hon. Members of the House and I will continue to count upon their sympathy, comradeship and consideration for building up the new India of our dreams.<sup>14</sup>

14. After this, all the cut motions were rejected and the demands for grants were accepted by the House.





# REORGANISATION OF STATES

## I. Recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission



# 1. Need for Dispassionate and Rational Consideration of the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission<sup>1</sup>

I beg to move:

That the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission be taken into consideration.<sup>2</sup>

The motion that I have just made is non-controversial.....

Shri Algu Rai Shastri:<sup>3</sup> You are moving it in eclipse.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I, on my part at least, have no desire to evoke any controversy or to indulge in it unnecessarily. My purpose today is only to request the hon. Members of the House to let the Government have the benefit of their views on that Report. This Report is of great significance. The occasion on which we have started discussion today may similarly prove to be one of historical importance.

The Report was published about nine weeks ago and at the very outset I should like to place on record the appreciation of the labours of the members of the Commission on my behalf, on behalf of the Government and, if I may say so, also on behalf of this House. The members were eminent men who had attained distinction in various fields of activity and who were widely respected and trusted for their experience, consciousness, impartiality, intelligence, ability and competence to handle difficult and intricate issues. The Commission had an ex-Judge of the Supreme Court as its Chairman. The recommendations made by such a Commission necessarily carry great weight. The country has given the best thought to that Report and the principles on which it is based, the specific recommendations that it has made and the proposals that are

1 Speeches in Lok Sabha on 14 and 23 December and in Rajya Sabha on 19 December 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 10, cols.2551-71 and 4054-74 and *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. 11, cols. 3174-83

2 The report of the States Reorganisation Commission, published in October 1955, recommended replacement of the existing 27 States by 16 full-fledged States and 3 Centrally-administered areas; removal of distinction between parts 'A', 'B' and 'C' States; abolition of the system of Rajpramukhs, and readjustment of the States' boundaries in some places

The States Reorganisation Commission had been appointed in December 1953 under the chairmanship of Syed Fazl Ali to examine "objectively and dispassionately" the question of the reorganisation of States of the Indian Union "so that the welfare of the people of each constituent unit as well as the nation as a whole is promoted." H.N. Kunzru and K.M. Panikkar were members of the Commission. The Commission submitted its report on 30 September 1955.

3. Algu Rai Shastri; a prominent Congressman of Azamgarh; elected to U.P. Legislative Assembly in 1937 and 1946; president U.P. Provincial Congress Committee; member Constituent Assembly; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952.

embodied in it for the implementation of the recommendations in every way.

Naturally the attention of the country has been riveted on the Report since its publication. Not only in the cities but in the remote corners too it has aroused considerable interest. Even far-off and far-flung States like Manipur and Tripura have been resounding with its echoes.<sup>4</sup> In some places it has given rise to passions, heat and even embitterment of sentiments. That too is not altogether a strange feature because the issues, with which this Report deals, touch the life of the people intimately and closely and it is not at all unintelligible that some persons because of their temperamental differences or because of their very strong convictions have not been able to exercise such restraint as the consideration of a matter of this type deserves and demands.

The Report, as has repeatedly been stated here and also outside, has to be considered and examined dispassionately and calmly and in a rational way. Any other approach will be leading almost to conclusions which will neither be sanguine nor helpful. Though the Report has attracted considerable attention and people everywhere have given their best thought to it, on the whole, life has been running its even course and except in one or two places there has been no ripple at least on the surface. It is regrettable, however, that in one of the foremost cities of our country there were some violent outbursts but they were confined only to a day or perhaps a few more afternoons.<sup>5</sup> In another place, obscure and hardly well-known, there was an ugly scene. But for these incidents, on the whole, the people have maintained their usual self-control and dealt with the problems that they have to face from day to day without being swerved from the right path. The activities in the constructive field have not suffered in any way even on account of the various issues being brought to the forefront by the Report affecting diverse groups.

The Prime Minister has, ever since the publication of this Report, laid foundations of a number of big industrial projects. It is a testimony to the innate nature of our people that though the issues involved in the discussions are intricate and delicate, and though in some places passions have been excited, they have nonetheless behaved with dignity and attended to their duties in a calm, peaceful and unruffled manner. Not only have we noticed this even course of things going on in an undisturbed way but we had, during this interval since the Report was published, the privilege of welcoming some distinguished guests who have travelled all over the country and have been received

4. The report recommended that Manipur be a Centrally-administered territory for the time being, and that its "ultimate merger in Assam should be kept in view." As regards Tripura, the report recommended its merger in Assam.
5. In Bombay those demanding merger of the city with Maharashtra had clashed with the police on 18 November and disturbed a Congress meeting addressed by the Chief Minister on 20 November. On 23 November some buses and trams were set on fire and some police posts were attacked, which led to police firing in which 12 persons were killed and 266 injured.

everywhere in a very cordial way.<sup>6</sup> People have shown their capacity to do the right thing and to see everything in a correct perspective. What is needed today is a balanced approach towards the problems with which the Report deals. So far as the public is concerned, it has shown the way that should be adopted in matters of this type. Millions are affected by the Report, but they have been following the course of their everyday life with grace and have been giving due respect to those who deserve it.

The last few weeks have synchronised with the visit of distinguished statesmen from Russia and also the King of Saudi Arabia.<sup>7</sup> Everywhere, in spite of the discussions that we have been continuing, they have received cordial welcome. I had the pleasure of reading this morning the statement that has been issued by the leaders of our country and Russia. They refer therein to the policy which we have accepted, to the principles which are embodied in the sacred doctrine of *Panch Shila* and the methods of settlement by negotiations even in international field, to which we have committed ourselves. It seems to me a proper reminder of the way we must settle our own problems. Even where we are concerned with issues which do not come within our domestic sphere, we are determined to solve and settle them by negotiations and by means which should be peaceful. It is all the reason, therefore, why we should settle all our problems by agreement. That is our hope, and that is our desire. The decisions will bear upon the lives of a large number of people in the various States that exist today or that may be carved in the manner suggested by the Commission. It is necessary that proper atmosphere should be created so that the new States may start to function in a fruitful way. If they have to begin their work in inflamed, embittered conditions, then the future will not be as bright as we would like it to be; at least some time will be wasted. Yesterday this House passed the Constitution (Amendment) Bill unanimously.<sup>8</sup> That indicates that this is a national endeavour, and all hon. Members are determined to reach satisfactory solutions and to see that concrete shape is given to them within the minimum time possible. The background seems to me to be sufficiently propitious. So we can go forward with hope and courage.

I came across some suggestion which appeared in the pages of some papers to the effect that this Report should be put in cold storage and that no action should be taken on it for 10, 15 or, say, 25 years. Some people perhaps would like it to be buried completely. I do not at all suspect the motives of the persons who have expressed this view. They think that this Report may create trouble in the country, that we may not be able to carry out the programme of

6 The Soviet Prime Minister N. A. Bulganin and the First Secretary of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. S. Khrushchev, toured India from 18 November to 1 December 1955 before leaving for Rangoon. They again spent a week in India from 7 to 14 December 1955.

7 The King of Saudi Arabia, Abdul-Aziz Saud, visited India for a fortnight from 27 November 1955.

8 The reference was to the Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Bill. For details see p. 74, fn. 2

reconstruction to which we are pledged and wedded, that other hindrances may be created in the process of re-drawing of the administrative map of India. I think that is a counsel of despair. I also feel that that is not in the series of events which have led us to this stage. This is not a document which has been sprung on us unexpectedly. The demand for the rationalisation of the administrative boundaries of States in this country is an old one. It was made even more than forty years ago. The Congress accepted the principle in 1920 and Congress provinces were carved on that basis shortly thereafter. It is admitted that the provinces that were formed during the days of British imperialism had hardly any rational, cultural or economic basis; they were determined by the vicissitudes of the fortunes of the British in this country. They were only interested in maintaining their stranglehold and they did not take any particular care in seeing that the cultural, economic and other aspects were kept in view in demarcating the boundaries of the States.

This fact was realised even by the British administrators themselves. In the Report of 1919 which was issued by Chelmsford and Montagu, it was suggested that the States should be reorganised. After that, when another Commission came here that view was further ratified.<sup>9</sup> But, so far as the Congress is concerned, it had been repeatedly reiterating its faith in the cultural redistribution of the States so that the people and the administration might come closer, and facilities in the matter of education might be rationalised. In other ways also, for example in the matter of trade, business etc., persons living within a State might have full facilities so as to be able to transact their business in as simple and straightforward a manner as might be possible.

The question was further considered when the Constituent Assembly was formed. The Dar Commission<sup>10</sup> was appointed to examine it especially with reference to certain States such as Karnataka, Kerala, etc. Andhra was then a part of Madras Presidency. That Commission went into the question and it laid down the principles which should be kept in view in the formation of new States. It laid emphasis on the point that while language was an important factor to be kept in view, there were other considerations which ought not to be overlooked and which deserved, on all such occasions, a very correct appreciation and appraisal. It is only by balancing the various factors that sound decisions would be reached. But that Commission earnestly advised the Constituent Assembly not to break up the States as they then existed at that stage of our political development.

9 The reference was to the Simon Commission which came to India in 1928 to report on the working of the Act of 1919 and to consider whether India was ready for a further instalment of constitutional reforms. The exclusion of Indians from the Commission caused great indignation and there was a general disposition in India to boycott it. The Commission submitted its report in May 1930.

10. The Linguistic Provinces Commission, known as the Dar Commission, appointed by the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, had submitted its report in December 1948.

Later on the J.V.P. Report was published.<sup>11</sup> As hon. Members are aware, the Congress appointed a committee consisting of the foremost leaders of our country. That Report dealt with the problem in a very piecemeal way and it again reiterated the canons which one should keep in view in determining issues of this type.

After that, again in accordance with the recommendations of the J.V.P. Report, the State of Andhra was formed about two years ago.<sup>12</sup> A declaration was made on the floor of this House by the Prime Minister and in pursuance of that declaration that State was constituted.

Now, that did not, however, put an end to the wishes, the longings and the urges of the people who had been pressing for the formation of what was then styled as 'linguistic provinces'. The Government then decided to appoint a Commission to go through the entire ground. They realised that piecemeal settlement of these problems would not be satisfactory. In fact, the States are so related, interconnected and interlinked that changes made in one would react on the other, and those on the other on the next neighbour. So, in order to settle all these outstanding issues in a satisfactory way at one and the same time this Commission was appointed, and I venture to submit that it was not appointed a day too soon.

Those who now ask for the shelving of the Report ignore the history of the problem and the various stages which have led up to this consummation. It would leave the issues hanging, prolong the suspense which uncertainty brings and cause greater damage than the difficulty which seems to be involved today in the discussion of these issues and in their peaceful settlement. It also betrays in a way the lack of faith in the Parliament and in the people of the country. We have to our credit great achievements. There is no reason why there should be any feeling of nervousness. We want to settle all problems and the more difficult they are the greater the challenge, and we are prepared to take up challenge with which we may be faced. We want to leave for posterity a greater, stronger, smoother, more advanced and prosperous India than it is today. We would not willingly and deliberately postpone any issues simply because of the difficulty involved in their solutions. The Parliament itself has handled many difficult matters. The Hindu Succession Bill<sup>13</sup> is under consid-

11. In December 1948, the Congress, at its Jaipur session, appointed a committee, known as the J.V.P. Committee which consisted of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya as its members, to consider the question of linguistic provinces and to review the position in the light of the report of the Dar Commission and the new problems that had arisen since independence. The report of the committee, adopted by the Congress Working Committee in April 1949, stated that a beginning could be made with the creation of Andhra, but sounded a note of warning against the linguistic principle.
12. The new State of Andhra was inaugurated on 10 October 1953.
13. The Hindu Succession Bill provided, among other things, a share to a daughter in her father's property and absolute right to a woman to her self-acquired property. The Bill was passed in May 1956.

eration these days and it has already passed through one House. The Untouchability Bill<sup>14</sup> was passed the other day and so was the Companies Bill.<sup>15</sup> Many other achievements have been attained. In the international field the country has reached a status which can only evoke a sense of pride and jubilation in every citizen of the country. The principles and the policies that have been enunciated by our Prime Minister have been adopted by most advanced countries. He has given a lead to them; his words are listened to with respect and attention by the leaders of other countries which are known as Great Powers. I was reading today the remarks that appear to have been made by one of the distinguished visitors to this country that India deserves to be the leader of the comity of nations and that there is every reason why she should be given as distinguished a place as any other nation might be occupying in the World Councils today. So, with all these advantages, with all its achievements, we can certainly afford now to deal with the domestic issues too. I personally have no feeling of diffidence nor one of dismay. I am certain that we will be able to stick to our programme and to do so with the goodwill and co-operation of all sections of opinion in this country and to launch the new States in accordance with the decisions taken by Parliament in the first week of October next. That is our wish and that is our hope and we are determined to see it through. That can, however, only be possible if all of us combine together and apply ourselves to this difficult and intricate task in a co-operative spirit.

The proposals of the Commission are known to the House. I am thankful to the Lok Sabha Secretariat for the analytical summary and a map that they have prepared. That will give in a succinct form the contents of the Report which, as hon. Members are aware, can be roughly divided into three parts. The first one deals with the principles on which the recommendations are based. Those principles were, to some extent, indicated in the resolution that was issued and in the statement that was made on the floor of this House when this Commission was appointed. First and foremost importance was to be given to the unity and security of India. Other considerations, those relating to language, culture, financial viability, economic self-sufficiency, administrative convenience, etc. were also to be borne in mind in solving the problems which had been referred to the Commission. The position that we occupy is related not to the States but to India as such. We have the privilege of belonging to a great country but a country cannot be great simply because it has a huge population nor because of its 'big nation' size. It is the unity of the people and it is their pursuit of common ideals that give a country the strength that raises it in the eyes of others and enables it to order life in the manner it considers best.

14. The Untouchability (Offences) Bill was passed in April 1955. For details see pp. 280-93.

15. The Companies Bill, introduced in the Lok Sabha on 2 September 1953, was passed on 22 November 1955. For details see p. 209, fn. 6.



So, that is undoubtedly the main condition which must be fulfilled in any scheme of reorganisation that we may make. The unity of India is not a new-fangled political notion. It has been there from times of yore. In the midst of the rich variety that we see in our country, there has been a fundamental unity that has sustained the people, their synthetic culture and contributed to their advancement. We have to guard against fissiparous tendencies, against disruptive forces that are still at work. So, it becomes all the more necessary that while dealing with this question of reorganisation of States no bitterness is aroused and no new cleavages are fomented. It is essential that these problems should be viewed in a balanced way and with a determination to maintain, preserve and promote the unity of this great and ancient country. Anything that tends to disturb that unity will do greater harm than any advantage that might accrue from the rational reorganisation of the States; and this has to be not only political but also emotional. Persons living within the same State or in the neighbouring States have to realise that the salvation of all lies in the sweetness of their relations and in their being imbued with the genuine spirit of fellowship and comradeship. After all, our Constitution recognises only the citizen of India. Our citizenship is not related to political or other reasons. One can enjoy the rights only as a citizen of India and all other divisions must be viewed in that light. They should not in any way impair that basic sense of citizenship. Sometimes in the discussions and in the controversies that have been provoked by these proposals people seem to forget the elementary fact that, though floating on the surface, this is more important than anything else that we may do. We have also to remember that there are still adverse forces interested in aggravating our difficulties. The problem of Goa is before us. Our neighbours in the East and the West are not as friendly as we would like them to be. So, let us not be involved in petty quarrels and let us be determined to solve all our domestic issues in a becoming way with dignity, with suavity and with grace. Without a spirit of accommodation and determination to maintain the prestige of the country not only in the eyes of our own people, but also outside, we may not be able to achieve all that we desire. So, we have to bear all these various principles in mind while taking decisions.

Language decidedly is a very important factor which is intimately and inextricably connected with culture. It reflects the mind and also to some extent the spirit of the people. Language can be a uniting factor, but, if viewed in a narrow way, linguistic divisions can also be sources of danger. For, if we are to be caught up in isolated islands separated from each other, the strength of the country, instead of being enhanced by these arrangements, will be further impaired. We reconcile ourselves to this demarcation of the boundaries of the States only with a view to raising the strength of the country. It is to give the greatest satisfaction, to prepare the ground to satisfy the wishes and the appetite of the people, so that they may live together in friendliness and concentrate on the real task of reconstruction. After all, what we need is the growth.

the development of every single citizen in this country. We want everyone living in this land to have the fullest scope to rise to the maximum height of which he is capable. So, whether we be in one State or another, we have to create conditions which will conduce to the fulfillment of this aim. Anything short of that will not give us the combined strength which we desire. So, while emphasising the efficacy and even the potency of the linguistic principle, we must also admit that it has its limitations. The Commission has said that the principle which was advanced by some about 'one language, one State' is impracticable. It is obviously so. In our country, though there are linguistic groups in majorities in certain areas, still people speaking the language of that particular area also live in other States and in other regions. In fact, I have examined the figures and I find that even in the States which must be regarded as unilingual States, the minorities exist in large numbers and in substantial proportions. In Assam, almost 50 per cent are non-Assamese-speaking people. In other States that are now to be formed, the percentage of the people whose language will be different from the language of the majority varies from 6 per cent to 30 or 35 per cent. So, we have to see that in forming these States no aspect is given undue importance and no relevant factor is ignored. If things are viewed in that light, I would hope that there will be no difficulty in reaching agreed conclusions. We all wish to promote, to foster the growth and development of every language. Fourteen languages are mentioned in the Constitution; but there are even others which do not find a place there. There are, I think, about 2 or 3 crores of people in our country who do not speak any of these 14 languages. Yet, they have a right to unfettered growth as much as those who have the privilege of belonging to these recognised linguistic groups.

The suggestions made by the Commission are worthy of respect. They have dealt with the matter with great care. They travelled all over the country from one end to the other. They received thousands and thousands of representations, met numberless deputations and also examined hundreds or perhaps thousands of individuals. The Report bears the stamp of their objective, balanced, unprejudiced and impartial approach. The recommendations of the Commission are not the last word and it is open to the House to make such changes as might be considered necessary and likely to produce better results. But, we should not lightly tamper with those recommendations, because none of us has given as much of time and thought to the problem as the Commission had the opportunity of doing.

The Commission, as is known to the Members, has suggested the abolition of the institution of Rajpramukhs. It has also proposed that there should be only one class of States and the different classes, such as A, B and C should not continue hereafter, and that there should be States and Centrally-Administered Territories. The number of States that they would like to see after formation comes to sixteen and the Territories that they have suggested are no more than three—Manipur, Delhi and Andamans and Nicobar. The States that they

have suggested are, as I said, sixteen, including Jammu and Kashmir. Some of the suggestions relate more or less only to the readjustment of boundaries. Not that they are unimportant. In the case, for example, of Bihar and Bengal, the area is pretty large and there are strong sentiments which have even led to emotional upheavals on both sides. But, the proposals relating to the readjustment of boundaries are of a minor character and it is not necessary, I think, for this House to give too much of time to that. Some of them will certainly call for consideration. But there are a few others which, if not trivial, are of a minor character and can be well left out of discussion here.

Some new States are proposed to be formed such as Karnataka, Kerala, the Bombay State, which, according to the Commission should continue as a bilingual State. Then, there is the State of Vidarbha which is to be formed out of the existing Madhya Pradesh. As a result of the splitting of Hyderabad, there will be the new State of Telengana which if combined with Andhra will result in the birth of Vishal Andhra as it is called. There are other States which are affected more or less. But, some of them, I think, are of a non-controversial nature.

The press has given considerable attention to the proposals. The reaction produced by the Report was, I think, satisfactory. The suggestions made by the Commission have been almost accepted in many cases. I am leaving aside the border disputes for the present. But the bigger questions have been to a large extent settled. There are two or three important, far-reaching and complex issues, however, which have got to be fully resolved.

The Commission has suggested the formation of the bilingual State of Bombay. The Karnataka districts are to be taken out of the existing Bombay Presidency or State, Marathwada from Hyderabad is to be attached to it in the south and Saurashtra in the north.<sup>16</sup> That is the suggestion of the Commission. When I read the Report I was personally greatly impressed by two of the proposals contained in it. One is about this bilingual State of Bombay. It seemed to me to be a very wholesome sort of a solution of a baffling problem. The city of Bombay, which is the gateway of India and the commercial capital too, has well occupied a conspicuous place not only in our industrial and commercial, but also in our public life. So, it would continue to occupy that place in a big State without being severed from the other parts with which it has been combined for many, many years. That seemed to me to be an original idea. Anyway, it had not struck me. I felt really greatly relieved when I saw this. But it has not commended itself to all those who are interested in the matter. We want a satisfactory solution. The Congress Working Committee has given an alternative proposal. I will not discuss the merits of these proposals. Our en-

16. Apart from the Marathi-speaking areas, the Bombay State was to consist of Gujarati-speaking areas of Saurashtra and Kutch also according to the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission.

deavour is to bring about a peaceful settlement which would satisfy all concerned and ensure the progress and the maintenance of the prestige of Bombay and of every part that is at present comprised in the State of Bombay.

The report also recommended that Telengana might for the present remain separate, but it could decide after five years, by a two-thirds majority, to join Andhra. It would perhaps be better, according to some people, if such a merger or unification were made now, so that all might concentrate on the work of reconstruction from the day the State is reformed and no one might be harassed by the idea of later changes coming after an interval of 5 years. About the State of Vidarbha there was the question whether it should remain separate or join Maharashtra or the bilingual State of Bombay. These points were considered to the extent we were able to do so up to this stage. And there seemed to be a difference of opinion in this regard too. We hope that it will be possible to compose all differences so that what emerges ultimately may not only be acceptable but may give complete satisfaction to all concerned.

There is the proposal in the Report about the merger of PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh in Punjab.<sup>17</sup> The people of Himachal Pradesh seemed to be anxious to concentrate on their development for a few years more without merging their identity in any other State. That question too has to be considered. In the Punjab, all the other issues have been raised; the problems are complicated, and they are not purely of a linguistic character, but are coloured by other sentiments and, perhaps, political aspirations or ambitions. So, the question of Punjab needs further attention.

These are the main States to which the Report refers. I need not say anything more about them. But there is one part of the Report which seems to me to be of considerable importance, but which has not yet received the attention that it deserves. That part relates to the safeguards that linguistic minorities should have in the predominantly linguistic States. As I have said a few minutes ago, it is necessary that there should be elbow-room for every citizen, whatever his language, and there should be unfettered scope for advancement for every citizen. In order that everyone living in a State, whatever his language, may have equal opportunities of self-expression and self-realisation and self-development, it is necessary to provide adequate safeguards. I shall not go through them, but they deserve very careful consideration, for if proper and effective safeguards are provided, that will reassure people who are at present concentrating and laying emphasis on the linguistic aspect; further, if every person has the opportunity of growing to his full stature, whether he speaks one language or the other, the problem is simplified to some extent.

There are at present several restrictions in the matter of employment, in

17. In its report the States Reorganisation Commission said that there was "no case for dividing the present Punjab State", and recommended that PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh be merged in the Punjab.

the matter of education, and in some places in the matter of possession or enjoyment of land. They do not fit in with the spirit of our Constitution according to which, every citizen of India should have the opportunity of enjoying all rights, privileges and amenities in every part of India. But it has not been so everywhere, and the Commission has drawn special attention to that aspect. There have been some complaints about public appointments. So, the Commission has made some suggestions about appointments to the Public Service Commissions. I may, however, state here that these proposals were discussed with the Chief Ministers, but some of them did not meet with their approval. Still, the Parliament is seized of them, and it can express its views in the way it considers sound and proper.

Then, there is the question of procedure to be adopted and followed after the decision on the formation of these new States has been taken. The new States will be formed, let us assume in October. So, some interim arrangements will have to be made, some sort of Legislatures will have to be provided, unless the President takes over the administration everywhere, which does not seem a feasible proposition. So, Parliament will have to take a decision as to how these interim Legislatures should be constituted. Similarly, there will be other matters relating to the reorganisation of services, the division of assets and liabilities etc. on which will depend the formation of the new States. All these will have to be looked into and considered. They may come at a later stage, but I wish that the House may be pleased to give thought to all the parts of the Report and not only to the proposals relating to the reorganisation specifically of certain States. Those proposals are of great significance especially to those who will be directly affected by them, but the basic principles and the safeguards are of general application, and must be viewed in that light as being of still greater importance.

I started by saying that the Report dealt with matters which did not come within the limited purview of any party. In fact, within every party, I think, there are different trends of thought, and different groups too. So, the problem has to be considered in a national spirit. It is only thus that sound conclusions will be reached. And, I hope that when the House has debated the suggestions that are contained in this Report, we will have made one further advance towards our goal. It will serve as a milestone in the road which we have been traversing and which is steadily leading us on to realms of prosperity and spiritual, moral, ethical and cultural self-fulfilment, not only of individuals but of the nation.

So, I would appeal to the Members to set an example again. Some people say that we are on our trial, that the nation is on its trial. I do not myself share that view. The nation has accomplished many tasks which were more complicated and more intricate. We had only a few years ago 600 States in this country which had a different form of administration, which were scattered all over the length and breadth of this land. Yet, by the genius, the organising capacity

and the unique skill of Sardar Patel,<sup>18</sup> all these States were reorganised. There was not any insuperable difficulty. What we have to do now is, in a way, not more but less difficult, because here we all are now used to a particular form of administration. The cultural affinities are there binding us all together. We all realise the importance of maintaining the great prestige and reputation of our country, and the issues, in a way, are simple. So I appeal to all Members, to everyone in this House, to deal with the matter in a becoming, graceful, calm and dispassionate way so that the credit and the reputation of this great House may be further enhanced and raised and we may be worthy of the trust that has been reposed in us by the people of our great country.

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The grand debate that has been going on since the 14th has established parliamentary records which will ever remain blazing in the annals of democracy and of our own Lok Sabha. During the 54 hours that this discussion has been continuously going on, nearly 125 speakers had occasion to express their differing points of view. I have with your permission, Sir, to congratulate the House for the high level that has been maintained throughout the discussion. I wonder if other Parliaments which have had very long experience have shown equal ability, eloquence, restraint, dignity and decorum.

A lot of latent talent has been revealed during this discussion. Hon. Members sitting in the back benches or the benches that lie between the front and the back have almost shown unrivalled capacity for argument and for lucid exposition of their views. They could perhaps well surpass some of those like me who happen to be sitting here.

Our country's experience so far as democracy is concerned is only a recent one. It has had a rich heritage and many hallowed traditions have come down to us, but democratic institutions have grown only in recent years. This Parliament has had hardly a life of more than six years since the introduction and adoption of our Constitution. Still it has shown that maturity, that sagacity and that perspicacity of which any House could well be proud.

I should also, Sir, thank you for the admirable way in which you have regulated the course of the debate. Every section of opinion had the opportunity of giving full vent to its feelings and to reason out its own case. Besides, no point was missed and no irrelevancy was tolerated or introduced. This is something which is unusual even in discussions over ordinary subjects.

But, this particular Report and the proposals that are contained in it had

18. Vallabhbhai Patel; b. 1875; eminent Congress leader of Gujarat who joined Mahatma Gandhi in 1917; imprisoned several times; organised the no-rent campaign in Bardoli in 1928; President of the Congress 1931; member of the Interim Government 1946-47; Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Home, States, Information and Broadcasting 1947-50; d. 1950.

not only roused sharp controversy, but had in some places given ground for commotion, turmoil and disturbances.

Hon. Members have strong feelings. Here, they represent not only their constituencies, but are also influenced by the strength of their own convictions. Yet, though forceful, virile and sometimes vigorous in the expression of their opinions, no one has transcended the limits of decency and dignity. That questions of such a controversial character which have convulsed many parts of the country should have been discussed in such a calm, dispassionate and, yet, forceful way, is a tribute to the hon. Members of this House and to the adaptability and capacity of our own people and of our Members for learning and practising good things.

Sir, this success in democracy is not merely a political achievement. Democracy is no doubt linked with political organisations, but the peaceful method of approach is at the base of democratic success; and the qualities that we have inherited, that our people have inherited, serve to point the way towards the achievement of the best that democracy could possibly yield. Along with freedom of thought, freedom of action and freedom of decision for matters of a personal type we have also acquired the art of expressing our own views in an unhampered way. And yet we are always prepared to submit to the verdict of the majority without sulkiness, resentment or cussedness. It is these qualities which fit in with the democratic way of life.

The tolerance that has been the characteristic of our country, the readiness to appreciate the other man's point of view and the spirit of accommodation, adjustment and adaptation that has been the main feature of life in this country from yore enables us to get prepared for a successful working of democracy. It is because of these gifts that we are able to hold elections on the basis of adult suffrage without any sort of disturbance or ripple on the surface in any part of the country. Nowhere else in the world had so many millions gone to the polls with a complete right to indicate their choice in a free and unfettered manner, without anybody ever interfering with them.

This House has been working since the coming of independence. Many are its achievements which have resulted in marked progress in social, economic, educational and cultural spheres. But the way the debate has been conducted on this Report reveals the inner impulse which throbs in unison with the tenets of democracy.

Sir, we have seen the discussion in the course of the last ten days being conducted with due regard for the views of the Opposition. The nature of the discussion, the differences that have come to the forefront and the earnestness with which hon. Members have pleaded for their own different points of view must have brought home to them the complex and the intricate character of the problems that the Commission had to handle. When hon. Members with every desire to appreciate the view of their own colleagues, neighbours, comrades and friends have not been able so far to reach agreed decisions and these

differences have persisted in spite of their natural desire, I believe to resolve and compose them, one can understand how difficult must have been the task that was entrusted to this Commission. That will enable us to appreciate the good work that they have done in a realistic and, perhaps, in a vivid way. The Commission have handled these questions in an objective, balanced and sober manner. Neither passion nor prejudice nor bias has come in their way. Nobody here, I think, imagines that they were influenced by any extraneous considerations. So, once again, I would like on behalf of this House to place on record our appreciation of their labours.

It is inevitable that in matters of this type which have been the subject of prolonged controversy the proposals or recommendations do not commend themselves to all parties at one and the same time. But the fact that such recommendations have been made with the best of intentions in order to advance the cause of the country cannot be disputed. The Commission had placed before itself the principles which were to guide it in its scrutiny and examination of the entire material which had bearing on the issues it had to tackle. The Commission naturally took utmost pains and left no stone unturned. Besides hearing thousands of esteemed citizens, travelling over thousands of miles, studying thousands of documents, they had also taken special care to consult again and again those who were in a position to assist them, except perhaps the members of Government. So, the Commission did all it possibly and humanly could, to arrive at correct conclusions. I am not surprised that their proposals have not been accepted unanimously and universally. Otherwise, it will be an inane world in which such live issues could be so easily and summarily disposed of. Our people have their virility. They have their vitality and they live in different regions. So, it is but natural that the Commission's recommendations should not have been tamely accepted by everyone. But, while trying to examine those proposals, assessing the reasons and grounds on which they are based with due care, we should not forget that the Commission consisted of persons who are widely respected. The recommendations were of various types, but they were based, as I said, on certain principles. These principles were indicated initially in the resolution which was issued when the Commission was appointed. They were also declared on the floor of this House by the Prime Minister and it has to be borne in mind that nobody ever raised any question against the propriety, soundness or correctness of those principles. So, unless we find that these principles were wrong or that in their application the Commission had tripped or followed a perverse course, we have to examine the proposals in the light of the criteria set forth by them.

I have seen little discussion in this House about those principles. I infer that generally the House is in agreement with them and that the consensus of opinion supports them. If it be so, the task becomes a bit lighter. Then one has only to see whether these recommendations do or do not satisfy the tests laid down by the Commission. If they do, they have to be accepted at least till



something better is evolved. If they do not, we have reason to single out the particular direction which has not been observed and see that the necessary changes are made accordingly. But the approach has to be an integrated one. All the criteria and all the tests that have been laid down have to be simultaneously applied. To single out one of them and to leave the others is naturally to get into a trap, for if a number of tests are prescribed and only one of them is borne in mind, then the approach is partial and can be said to be vitiated. But looked at from this point of view, I presume that the recommendations of the Commission generally will be seen to be sound. I am not yet in a position to give expression to any views on behalf of Government. Those will be reached in the course of the next few days, and will be embodied in the Bill that we hope to place before this august Parliament sometime in the latter half of February. In the magnificent speech that the Prime Minister made the other day, he made it clear that none of us are yet in a position to make any announcement on behalf of the Government. We have been continuously giving thought to this thorny subject. We have, however, only one desire. Now that this House has discussed this matter at such length and is seized and possessed of the varying series of opinions over these proposals, it should be possible for the hon. Members who are commonly interested in different issues to meet together and to reach an agreement. For, whatever we may do, however sound be our decisions, unless they carry with them the support of the legions of the country and of its various parts, the States will not have a very auspicious start. They will be faced with difficulties at the very outset. Even if the start be good, the States will have their teething troubles, but we should not aggravate the malady or add to it. It should be our effort to see that agreement is reached wherever possible and the area of differences is reduced to the minimum. If we do not do that, the debate we have held here will not have yielded adequate and commensurate results. I would appeal to hon. Members now to examine the proposals in the light of the observations and criticisms made by those who hold views different from their own and then to see whether any middle course can be devised; whether anything can be accepted and whether we can now make a start with the unanimous goodwill and support of everyone in this House. Delay in these matters leads to complications. It does not reassure people and it adds to the arena of dispute. Many things which were not indicated when the Report was published have lately been pressed forward with great vigour. If we allow this mental attitude to grow, then the chances of reaching an agreement become more and more slender. After all, whatever the local legislative assemblies may do, this great House owes a responsibility to the whole of India. It cannot afford to look at things from an acute or obtuse angle. It is an angle that should necessarily be right. And, if it is right, there is no reason why the conclusions reached collectively by the House should not be sound. So, as the Prime Minister reminded us the other day, everyone who is here does not represent a tiny corner of this land, but the vastness of this

country, its traditions, its aspirations, its faith and its hope in and for the future. So, everyone has to approach the sacred task with a determination to find a satisfactory solution.

The Commission, while closing its Report in the last chapter, laid emphasis on the unity of India. I imagine that every hon. Member in this House understands and appreciates the significance of the unity of India. No region can prosper unless the security and the unity of India are completely ensured and guaranteed for today, for tomorrow and for ever. So, that should be the first, the foremost and the demanding consideration. In this land of diversity, sometimes people are apt to be taken in by the superficial features. What we see in different regions only indicates the richness of our culture. So, we have to adjust our regional affinities with national interests and demands. That is what the Commission was asked to do. Every individual, every citizen, every region must have unfettered scope for progress, for self-expression and for self-advancement. There should be no hindrance, no obstacle, no impediment in the way. So, if we look at these things from a comprehensive and adequate aspect, if I may say so, then there will be no difficulty in reaching satisfactory conclusions. But, if we ignore the supreme demand of unity and allow ourselves to be caught up in different separate isolated units, then our future will be bleak, if not black. So, let us remember what the Prime Minister told us about this aspect. I believe that every Member here realises that. In fact, our days of glory were the days of our unity. We sent our messengers to countries far and wide 2,500 years ago. After that too, whenever we were united and integrated, we not only raised the level of life in our own country, but we did something also for others. And, our independence was unique. So was the other chapter of darkness. The British established their empire in our country not by their strength, might or prowess, but because of our compartmental divisions and sectarian tendencies. Little by little they grabbed and swallowed up everyone. Now, we have to guard ourselves. While the States have to be carved in accordance with their natural affinities, the supreme objective of strengthening the unity, the cohesion of the nation and the country has to be given the first and foremost pivotal consideration. I noticed the applause with which the casual suggestion of the Prime Minister that there should be four, five or six regional councils in the country was hailed by the House. That indicated in a way that whatever may have been the approach to start with, in the course of discussion, hon. Members had come to realise the dangers that lie ahead if we concentrate too much on regional affinities, whether of language or culture, and ignore the fundamental basis of our very existence. That idea has been hailed by the House and it will receive a concrete shape. I am not yet in a position to say how it will ultimately materialise. But, at least we can have Councils with advisory powers or status. So far as the economic and developmental requirements of the country are concerned, these linguistic affinities do not mark the bounds of the various territories. Rivers do not deter-

mine their course in accordance with the languages of the people living on their banks. Mountains do not determine their height in accordance with the languages of the people who make them their homes. The mines that lie deep down in the bosom of the earth do not follow any regional pattern, much less any linguistic pattern. So, for the purpose of economic development at least, if not for anything else, it would be desirable to have Councils of that type. Besides, they would serve to heal the wounds that separation may cause in some places. Old friends may divide on account of this reorganisation. Yet, they may be bound together through these Councils. And this the process of reorganisation and integration and economic advancement could coalesce and synchronise. These Councils seem to have a great future. But, all great things have small beginnings. We shall, for the present, give them a start and see that they go on growing from strength to strength, gaining more and more power through fellowship, through understanding, and through mutual regard for the needs and welfare of each other.

As I said a few minutes ago, I am not in a position to say anything on behalf of the Government. But, I have followed the trend of discussions here and I find, as I said, that there appears to be agreement in this House about certain matters: matters which seem to me to be of great moment. I have already referred to the principles on which the recommendations are based. There are other parts, especially Part IV, which deals with linguistic safeguards and measures, that have been devised and suggested for strengthening the unity and integrity of the country and of the various regions.

No one has said anything against those recommendations. The safeguards are meant for the protection of linguistic minorities, for ensuring fair recruitment to the public services, and opportunity of receiving instruction through the mother-tongue, for owning or cultivating land, for taking part in trade and business and other things. As hon. Members know, our Constitution recognises only the citizenship of India. It does not recognise the citizenship of U.P. or Delhi, or for the matter of that, of Bombay or Calcutta—great cities in their own ways, but yet tiny places as compared to this vast, big and ancient land. Every one of us has today the good luck and the good fortune of calling himself a citizen of this great country, of calling himself a partner in the sovereignty of this land along with all others who live in it. That is a status of which anyone could be proud and one could not have wished for anything better or superior. It is not only that. We have, besides, thanks to our leadership, acquired a place in the international sphere which we did not expect even in our dreams. Through these principles of coexistence and peaceful approach towards problems, we have made a mark on other countries and also in the field of international diplomacy. So, let us, while examining these proposals, remember the responsibility that we owe to our principles, to our avowed declarations. Let us guard against any charge of insincerity being levelled against us. For, if we fail to observe in the domestic field what we ask others to follow

in the international field, that contradiction would look extremely anomalous, if not worse. We have to bear all these things in mind.

So far as these proposals are concerned, we have to remember that what is necessary is not only full scope for the progress of culture, language, etc. in a particular State, but also for the maximum development of the personality of every single citizen living in every nook and corner of this land. If we keep that in view, then we have to attach considerable importance to these safeguards, and also to the other suggestions that have been made, such as the recruitment to these All India Services from all over India, and the allotment to one State of at least one-third of the recruits from others. Similarly in the case of High Court Judges, inter-state transfers should now be allowed. The Public Service Commissions, it has been suggested in the Report, should be appointed by the Central Government.<sup>19</sup> There was a difference of opinion in the Chief Ministers' Conference and they did not approve of it. There are also suggestions for the centralisation of certain services, such as the Service of Engineers, Health Services, Forest Services, etc. It is really strange and somewhat odd that today there should be restrictions in some of the States against the acquisition of property by persons who have not lived in those States at least for 20 years and who cannot guarantee that till their death they will live there and die on that soil and nowhere else. These things have to go and every citizen has to get equal opportunity everywhere. All these barriers, to the extent possible, should be demolished and removed. Whether you are in one region or another, as an Indian citizen, you should have equal right with everyone else. That should be our goal and, to the extent possible, we should carry out this policy. It becomes much more necessary now.

I hope that when these regional areas are carved out, most of the work will be done in the regional languages. We want these languages to thrive, to prosper, to grow rich. But, we have also to remember that while linguistic divisions may facilitate the conduct of public work within the borders of the respective States, the urgency of having a common language for inter-regional communication and for Central purposes is all the more emphasised and marked out. It will be necessary for people living in different regions to cultivate the languages of other regions, and at the same time for all to cultivate Hindi so that people may be able to carry on their tasks, whether commercial, industrial or official, through a common medium. It is not a question of one language or of the other. But we want a common medium. We will need it for trade; we will need it for business; we will need it for commerce and we will need it for, above all, unifying the various regions, which will, to some extent, be now separated from each other.

Having dealt with the main points, I may say a few words about what

19. The report also recommended that there should be a common Public Service Commission, so far as possible, for more than one state.

perhaps interests many of the Members here more, viz. the different States. As to that, I am not going to say anything about the minor questions — I say, minor, in the sense that they are relatively confined to border areas, and do not suggest the complete merger of one State in the other or complete re-formation of any particular State.

So far as the formation of new States is concerned, with respect to some, I think the consensus of opinion is for reorganising them, such as Karnataka with Mysore included in it. Similarly, about Kerala, there seems to be a general opinion that Kerala should be formed.

Shri Matthen:<sup>20</sup> No.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I said, generally. 'Generally' provides for the possibility of some dissensions.

An hon. Member: That is only a lonely voice.

Pandit G.B. Pant: So far as the new Madhya Pradesh is concerned, I admire the ingenuity of the Commission, because I like big things.<sup>21</sup>

Shri V.G. Deshpande: There is a sharp difference of opinion regarding Madhya Pradesh.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I am giving my summing up of the collective opinion of this House. The opinion, so far as I have been able to study it, generally of the Members of this House seems to be in favour of the new Madhya Pradesh. As I said, I like it, because we will have a State bigger than Uttar Pradesh. And I wish that there may be many States bigger than Uttar Pradesh, because I have lived and laboured in Uttar Pradesh, and I have enjoyed the advantages that accrue from being in charge of the administration of a big State. I know what it means, and I know what benefits flow from it, benefits which harm nobody, but which advance all who live within that State. So, I would like still bigger States to be carved out, because then the economy is stabilized, the weaknesses of one are made up by the strong points of the other, and there is the need, the imperative need, of developing and cultivating a spirit of accommodation and understanding. Otherwise, we cannot function in the midst of millions of people. There is no room for narrowness and for a carping sort of—I would not say meanness, but—pettiness in big States and among the people. So, I like this proposal. As I said, I would warn again that I am not speaking for the Government.

But in spite of being a Home Minister, I think I have not lost my individuality, and it has not been merged completely, hopelessly or irrevocably, in the

20. C.P. Matthen; independent member of Lok Sabha for Thiruvellah (Travancore-Cochin).

21. According to the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission certain Marathi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh were to constitute Vidarbha and the remaining 14 districts along with the whole of Bhopal, the whole of Vindhya Pradesh, a major part of Madhya Bharat and Sironj sub-division of the Kotah district of Rajasthan were to constitute Madhya Pradesh.

office that I hold. So, in certain respects I still continue to cherish certain things, and to try to form independent opinions.

Then, as to the other two States, Punjab and Bombay, I hope that agreed solutions will be possible. I cannot see why they should not be possible.

As to Punjab, there are Sikhs and Hindus living in every village, in every town.

Shri M.P.Mishra:<sup>22</sup> In every family.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Their hamlets, their houses and their palaces joined each other. There can be no happiness in the land, whatever be the mechanism that you may devise, unless all of them join together and bind themselves with indissoluble ties of fellowship and comradeship. The people of Punjab are virile; they are also shrewd. I would not like to say whether they are deep or not. Depth is not always a covetable quality. But they can manage things very well. And I do not see why they should not succeed in evolving something which will hearten us, and strengthen everyone there. But whatever be the formula that is devised by others, it is difficult to get at anything unless the close neighbours who live together in hamlets and hutments, houses and palaces share a common outlook, and accept or devise or propose that formula jointly; for if it were a compact block within which all were agreed, there would be no difficulty.

We are anxious, I may say, to give satisfaction to the Sikhs. They are a brave people. They have—if you look at it from a narrower point of view—saved the Hindu religion from time to time by their sacrifices. They have raised the standard of valour, bravery and courage in this land. So, we have nothing but affection and respect for them. But it is our duty to see that the arrangements that are made do really ensure their advantage and lead them to greater joy and sweetness and progress in life. If these are denied, then no formula can serve a useful purpose.

I think, so far as Himachal Pradesh is concerned, opinions differ. Some are in favour of merging it in the Punjab. Others are against it, while the people of Himachal Pradesh themselves, so far as the proceedings of their Legislature indicate, are in favour of maintaining their separate existence. The question has to be considered, taking into account all these relevant factors.

So far as Bombay is concerned, I think this House devoted the major portion of its time to the discussion of problems connected with Bombay. It is but natural. Bombay holds pride of place in our country. It is worthy of all the attention that can be bestowed on this great city, and the people who are concerned with it are also people to whom every citizen of India has reason to be

22. Congress member of Lok Sabha for Munger (Bihar)

grateful. Maharashtra gave us Lokamanya Tilak,<sup>23</sup> Gopal Krishna Gokhale<sup>24</sup> and several other leaders who not only in the present but also in the past led our country from step to step to this goal of independence. Gujarat will ever remain enshrined not only in the annals of our land but those of the world for having produced a Gandhi. So far as Gujarat and Maharashtra are concerned, we would have to do all that we can to see that a solution that is acceptable to all is devised and evolved. We are determined to do that and we are determined to succeed in that. And if we fail, it will not be the failure of Gujaratis or of Maharashtrians, but of us all, because we must be able to serve them, to assure them that what we wish is the greatness of this country, to which they can contribute more than anybody else. To that end, we will do all we can. We will labour hard. The Gujaratis and the Maharashtrians compliment and supplement each other's qualities. One has more of valour and, perhaps, the other more of discretion. But all have to go together. One may serve as an engine and the other as a brake. But that is how the train will march on and march faster and faster as it goes on. So we have to find a solution, and we shall find it.

The Commission recommended a bilingual State. They had occasion, I understand, to make vague suggestions—or clearer ones—from time to time about it. I have said more than once that personally I am in favour of the bilingual State. But I am not in favour of anything that is not acceptable to Maharashtrians and Gujaratis. My own personal preference counts for little. What I would be prepared to accept is anything that they accept. This bilingual State has its merits, and I am afraid that it did not receive that dispassionate consideration which I wish it had received. The arguments which were advanced in support of this State hurt the sentiments of Maharashtra leaders. And they are a sensitive and a proud people—I am using the expression in the good sense. They are intolerant of anything that smacks of humiliation, and for that they have to be admired. So if some unfortunate words had not crept into the Report, I still think that perhaps the fate of this recommendation might well have been a different one. But in the prejudice created by certain observa-

23 Bal Gangadhar Tilak; b. 1856; educated at Poona and taught at Fergusson College, outstanding politician, nationalist and "extremist" leader of the Indian National Congress; founded and edited *Kesari* (Marathi) and *Mahratta* (English); sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment for sedition in 1897 and deported to Burma for six years in 1908; founded Home Rule League in 1916; d. 1920; author of *Shrimad Bhagvad Gita-Rahasya* (*Karma Yoga Shastra*) and several other scholarly books on Indian history and philosophy.

24. B. 1866; life-member Deccan Education Society from 1886; eminent "moderate" leader of the Congress; honorary secretary Deccan Sabha; served as secretary of the Bombay Provincial Conference for several years as well as of the Servants of India Society; member Bombay Legislative Council 1899–1901; member Imperial Legislative Council 1901–1915; President Indian National Congress 1905; member Royal Commission on Public Services in India 1912, d. 1915.

tions which, unfortunately, happened, as I said, to creep into it, the proposal was, from the start, considered to be unworthy of any respectful attention or consideration.

Now after that, seeing that our Maharashtra leaders and comrades were not in sympathy with that proposal, the Working Committee, after due consideration, suggested another. I have noticed that responsible Members of this House have said that they have not rejected the Working Committee's proposal, though they are not enamoured of it. Well, in this political field, few are enamoured of anything, and often we have to compromise with the second, third and fourth best. So it is there. But we wish, above all, that there should be goodwill behind every solution, and that all should meet together. Men like Shri Gadgil, who has given his entire life to the service of the country, men like Shri Shanker Rao,<sup>25</sup> who has had only one vocation in life, that is, the service of the people of this country, have to find a way out, that will lead to the progress of this country and to the healing of wounds. Neighbours who have lived together for ages should not part in a fit of anger, passion or heat or hatred. We are there to help them, to assist them. There is Shri Morarji Desai,<sup>26</sup> one of the purest of men, whom our country has produced. I do not see why these friends should not sit together and hammer out a solution. It will come, and it must.

Then there are other minor things which also have been the subject of discussion in the Report and about which proposals have been made. Taking from the extreme east, the Commission had suggested the merger of Tripura in Assam. Well, opinion in Tripura seems to be generally against the merger, and in this House, too, even Shri N.C. Chatterjee,<sup>27</sup> I think, was against the merger of Tripura in Assam. So, all that has to be borne in mind.

So far as Assam itself goes, it has its problems but they are more of a domestic character. Still it may be possible to consider whether any links cannot be forged to bring Assam and Tripura and Manipur closer without in any way interfering with their autonomy. There has been a demand on behalf of Manipur, and also of Tripura, that they should be given some voice in the

25. Shankar Rao Deo; b. 1894; a leading Congressman of Maharashtra; member Congress Working Committee 1938–50; General Secretary All India Congress Committee; member Constituent Assembly 1946–50; later joined the Sarvodaya movement; d. 1974.
26. B. 1896; joined Bombay Provincial Civil Service in 1918, but resigned in 1930 and joined civil disobedience movement; went to jail several times; Minister in Bombay 1937–39 and 1946–52, and Chief Minister 1952–56; Union Minister of Commerce and Industry 1956–58, and Finance 1958–63; chairman Administrative Reforms Commission 1966–67; Deputy Prime Minister 1967–69; chairman Congress (Organisation) Parliamentary Party 1969–77; detained during Emergency 1975–77; first chairman Janata Party 1977; Prime Minister 1977–79; d. 1995; works include *A View of the Gita* and *The Story of My Life*.
27. B. 1895; a prominent leader of Hindu Mahasabha; councillor Calcutta Corporation 1940–44; judge Calcutta High Court 1948–49; senior advocate Supreme Court 1952–57; president All India Hindu Mahasabha 1952–55; member Lok Sabha 1952–57 and 1963–72; d. 1972.



management of their affairs. I fully appreciate their wishes in that regard, and I hope something will be done towards that end.

The question of the tribal people has been, I believe, engaging the attention of some of the leading Members of this House. It has been constantly before the Government. I have repeatedly said that it is my regretful belief that we have not done our duty by them. So, whatever form the States may take, I hope they will pay due attention to the needs and requirements of the tribal people and the Centre will also take an intimate and close interest in measures designed for their uplift.

From Assam we next come to Bengal, Bihar or Orissa. So far as these States go, there are certain matters affecting border areas, or certain areas which may not be called border areas in these States, which have to be considered and about which, I think, in this House a number of speeches have also been made. But they call for very careful consideration and it is difficult for me to say which way the balance of opinion in this House lies. They will have to be weighed in the scales.

Then, after these, we come to U.P. I have not much to say except that I plead for mercy, for generosity and also for charity of judgment. I would, however, assure the House, we do not want to have this U.P. if it comes in the way of the advance of a single State in this country.<sup>28</sup> Let U.P. be broken to pieces if it can thereby serve the nation better. U.P. is not bigger than India and U.P.'s existence can be justified only so long as it succeeds in serving India in its present form and shape. Never will it depart from this ideal, and once it does so, it will deserve to be broken up.

Then there is very little to say about Madhya Pradesh except that.....

An hon. Member: Vishalandhra.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I am coming to that.

There is very little to say about Madhya Pradesh except that I would like to express my gratitude to the people of Madhya Bharat, Bhopal, Vindhya Pradesh, Ajmer, PEPSU and others whose entire States are now being merged in other States and who have willingly, to a large extent, agreed to accept the proposals of the Commission in the larger interests of the country. They have shown a commendable spirit. The people of Vindhya Pradesh, especially of Baghelkhand area, desire to be tagged on to U.P. Well, I leave the judgment to this House whether their wishes should be accepted or not.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma:<sup>29</sup> Hundreds of them are behind bars in V.P.

28 The report said: "There is no case for dividing Uttar Pradesh, and this State should continue in its existing form " But K.M. Panikkar, in his dissenting note, observed that a State which had more than one-sixth of the population of the whole country should be divided into two parts. He suggested creation of a new State to be called the State of Agra comprising an area of 51,346 sq. miles, the area of residuary Uttar Pradesh being 74,998 sq miles and the population 41,182,075 according to the 1951 census.

29. Member of Ram Rajya Parishad and member of Lok Sabha for Sikar (Rajasthan)

An hon. Member: Those who want merger?

Shri Nand Lal Sharma: No; those who do not want merger.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I have not heard any report so far. But if the reference is to the people who invaded the Council Chamber on a particular day and showed such an outrageous lack of taste in the matter, then I must confess that I have little sympathy. If there are others, I would like to look into the matter and should be glad if I could have details.

I have also said about Ajmer. I wish to submit that in the case of these States that are being merged it will be the duty of the new States that are being formed to see that at least their capital cities do not suffer on account of their merger; some offices, the High Court, the Accountant-General's office, the PWD offices, the Public Service Commission office or something or other should be transferred to every one of these localities so that all of them may continue to enjoy the advantages which were theirs when they were smaller and confined to only a tiny bit of territory.

An hon. Member: That applies to Kutch too?

Pandit G.B. Pant: That applies to every State that is being merged.

I would next refer to Gujarat and Saurashtra, but they do not call for any long discourse because they were prepared for the bilingual State and Gujarat and Saurashtra are now willing to accept the three-State formula too.

If there were any difference, then it would be necessary to discuss the position. As it is, nobody here has said anything against it.

Having disposed of that and Bombay and Maharashtra, we come to Telengana and Kerala—and we have Malabar with it. I do not know how far the people of Malabar like the change. But the speeches delivered in this House do not indicate that there is any difference of opinion between the different segments that will constitute Kerala hereafter.

Hyderabad, as hon. Members know, has now been divided into three parts, some of the districts—Marathwada—going to Maharashtra, some going to Karnataka and some forming the new Telengana.<sup>30</sup> The Commission had suggested that Telengana should be unified with Andhra after 5 years if two-thirds of the people are in its favour. *Prima facie* it does not seem to be in the interests of any smaller unit to be kept apart because the prospect of its being merged in another State comes in the way of the progress of both, and arrangements that are finalised in a way facilitate the progress of either and of both. So, theoretically, it would be much better if the two States could be unified now. Opinion in the House, so far as I have been able to analyse it, is by and large in favour of immediate unification.

An hon. Member: No, no.

30. Hyderabad, according to the report, was to consist of the Telugu-speaking areas of the then existing Hyderabad and it might unite with Andhra after the general elections to be held in or about 1961 if the State Legislature favoured it by two-thirds majority.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I am only trying to analyse but this does not conclude the matter completely. It still remains open to you to convert others.

Having disposed of this and having referred to Mysore, I wonder if there is any other State.

Shri N.R. Muniswamy: <sup>31</sup> What about Pondicherry?

An Hon. Member: What about Vidarbha?

Pandit G.B. Pant: There was a suggestion that Vidarbha should remain separate from the bilingual Bombay State. The Working Committee suggested that Vidarbha and the other districts of Maharashtra might unite now and form a big Maharashtra State. This formula was placed before the country. We still think—I personally think, I must say—that it would be good if Vidarbha and other Maharashtra districts were unified just now and started together because there is much in common and it should be possible for the people living in Vidarbha and in other parts of Maharashtra to reach an understanding among them. We are prepared to help them in the process and there is no reason why with our united efforts we should not succeed.

Shri N.C. Chatterjee: What about Delhi?

Pandit G.B. Pant: About Delhi? There is always shade under the lamp.<sup>32</sup> It is not only because of the proposals that have been made regarding Delhi, but also because I forgot Delhi altogether. I think there has been a firm opinion in this House and also outside that Delhi being the metropolis of India should have the advantage of guidance from the Centre. Delhi is lucky and Delhi's good luck will continue.

Shri Nambiar:<sup>33</sup> What about border disputes and border adjustments?

Pandit G.B. Pant: Border adjustments will be made and will be made in a satisfactory way; so that they may satisfy all reasonable people. I have refrained from making any rash and unreasonable observations. Sir, I thank you.<sup>34</sup>

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x

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<sup>35</sup>The proposals of the Commission are before us and we need the guidance and the cooperation of all sections of opinion in the country so that these States may make a start in a healthy and proper atmosphere. Even if a decision

31. Member of Commonweal Party and Lok Sabha member for Wandiwash (Madras)

32. Delhi, according to the report, was to be constituted into a Centrally-administered territory

33. K. Anand Nambiar; member of Communist Party of India (C.P.I.) and member of Lok Sabha for Mayuram (Madras).

34. After a long debate, Pant's motion that the report of the States Reorganisation Commission be taken into consideration was passed by the Lok Sabha on 23 December.

35. What follows is part of the speech delivered in the Rajya Sabha on 19 December on a similar motion as moved in the Lok Sabha that the "Report of the States Reorganisation Commission be taken into consideration." In the Rajya Sabha too the motion was moved by Pant.

be sound, that does not carry with it necessarily the emotional weight and the emotional incentive which is necessary for its being implemented in a constructive and fruitful way. So what we need today is the support and the backing of all who are interested in the peaceful advance of the country for the implementation of the proposals. As I said at another place, they are not the last word on the subject and we would certainly be glad to welcome everything that tends to improve them and to prepare the ground for a still more rapid and accelerated progress of the country. The demarcation of the States, is, after all, if looked at from the correct standpoint, a minor problem. The main central pivotal object is the establishment and achievement of a Welfare State—the maintenance, preservation and promotion of the unity of India. After all, no State can derive its strength or sustenance if India is not by itself strong and able to nurse and nourish itself. So we have not to ignore that central basic principle which should guide everybody in determining the issue, whether of reorganisation of States or other matters bearing on public life. Our country has a rich past. It has a rich culture but our culture is composite. It is the result of a continuous process of synthesis. Many races and many creeds have come, found asylum and lived in this country. The process of cohesion has been going on continuously. For the blossoming and fruition of all the aptitudes, it is necessary that there should be ample scope for fulfilment in every part of the country. All cultures should grow and should be still more mellowed and sweet, but culture and controversy do not sound well. They cannot be sounded in the same breath; if we have to preserve the cultures of our country, then our attitude towards these problems has not only to be rational but also to some extent a little tender so that the soft plant of culture may not suffer any damage at our hands. In the name of culture, let us not, therefore, fight with each other. Let us join hands so that the different forms of culture that we see in our country complement and supplement each other and continue to give strength to this great composite, basic fundamental product which is the characteristic of India and which gives a special mark to an Indian wherever he goes outside this country, in any part of the globe. So let us remember that through the guidance of Gandhiji first and now, thanks to our Prime Minister, we have preached and tried also to practise, to some extent, the principles of non-violence, cooperation and constructive fellowship. That has been our privilege. Today the doctrine of coexistence and of cooperative effort is accepted even in the international field. If we fail to apply it to our own domestic problems, we shall stand discredited. We have to guard against any charge of insincerity being levelled at us. We must prove worthy of the principles that have been prescribed and laid down for us. So, I beg of the hon. Members to view this problem in the correct perspective. Our people have done so. Unfortunately, there have been a few incidents but considering the size of our country, the millions interested and affected by these problems, these disturbances have been extremely few and might well be ignored if one

of the big cities of our country had not been involved in them. Yet the people at large have gone on constructing the life—the new structure—of new India. The Plan has been proceeding smoothly and continuously.<sup>36</sup> There has been no interruption, and in the villages today you find the stirrings of a new life. The placidity of yore has given place to a resolute and robust determination to rebuild life on a new plane. So let us be able to send to them a heartening message from this House that, happen what may, the process of the Plan will not receive any setback. If we are today preparing for the reorganisation of the States in our country, it is to facilitate and to accelerate the process of economic, social and cultural development and advancement. If anything is done that comes in the way of that progress, then the very purpose will have been defeated.

So we have to approach all these questions in a dispassionate way and in a calm atmosphere. The Commission has done so and we have no reason to feel in any way depressed or despondent. The achievements of new India can give us enough of courage even for tougher tasks. Leaving aside other things and referring only to an allied matter, through the indomitable will and organising genius of Sardar Patel, six hundred States were integrated and merged in India and re-formed and reconstructed into different units. Those States had different administrative systems. They were so very different in character. Still that great task was carried out smoothly, without much of fuss and without any exhibition of an unseemly character in any way. It should be much easier now to reintegrate the different parts of the various States in our country if such reintegration is to help the cause that we all have at heart.

And why should anybody feel perturbed or disturbed? The reorganisation of the States does not in any way involve any separation from India. Nobody is going to be hurt unless India is hurt. Therefore, so long as we remember the exact nature of this problem, there can be no cause for any anxiety. Whether a part remains in one State or is transferred to another is not of such an enormous importance that it should bring about convulsions and controversies, sharp and bitter. There is no occasion for it. There is none else to determine these things. We have to settle them ourselves. Mahatma Gandhi was, as hon. Members know, in favour of the reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis. But soon after the attainment of independence, he referred to the subject and sounded a sort of dismal and warning note. He said that while reorganisation was desirable, let us guard against any parochial or narrow tendencies. Let nothing be done that may weaken the integrated might of the country and let the boundaries be settled by the States concerned by mutual agreement. He said he saw no reason why in free India any arbitration for this purpose should be necessary. Well, now we have the award of arbitrators whose

36. The First Five Year Plan launched in 1951 was in operation. It accorded the highest priority to agriculture, irrigation and power projects.

verdict is worthy of every respect and it should be received without the least question by everyone. Yet, if there be need for any alterations here and there, that can be made because the ultimate decision rests with and is in the hands of Parliament.

Sir, while dealing with this subject, I feel sometimes that the basic problems are ignored. What do we need in this country? We have to adjust regional needs certainly with the entire country's needs. We have to see that regional cultures find sufficient, free and unfettered scope for development. What we need really is free opportunity for the maximum development of the personality of every citizen in this country. The question of majority or of minority is, in a way, an artificial and unreal one, for whether it be a minority or whether it be a majority, it consists of individual citizens and whatever we do must contribute to the growth and development of the stature and status and personality of every citizen living in this land. So, when we talk of a linguistic majority or a linguistic minority, let us remember that everyone is entitled to sufficient scope for his own growth. No majority can be allowed to do anything that will stifle the growth of any citizen who either linguistically or otherwise happens to be one of the members of a minority group in a State. We recognise only one form of citizenship and that is the citizenship of India. Every one of us has today the proud privilege of being a co-sharer and partner in the absolute and plenary sovereignty of this great land.

After ages we have got that valued privilege and prerogative. Let not minor considerations in any way eclipse the purity and the grandeur of this great concept. If we sustain that, then everything else will fall in. Even in the course of the discussions that have been proceeding over the proposals of this Report, I regret that sufficient attention has not been given to part IV where linguistic safeguards have been laid down and where other methods have been suggested for guarding against any disintegration that might result from the formation of linguistic States.<sup>37</sup> Language is no doubt a powerful factor. Its importance cannot and need not be minimised. It is not only a means of communication but it reflects the culture and the character of the people. So, we have to attach sufficient importance to it but language can also be a dividing

37. Among the recommendations regarding safeguards to the linguistic minorities were: they should be given the right to have instruction in their mother-tongues at the primary school stage subject to a sufficient number of students being available; a clear policy should be adopted to govern the use of different languages at different levels of State administrations; the domicile tests in force in certain States should be so simplified as not to operate to the disadvantage of minority groups; and in examinations regulating entry into the State services, a candidate should have the option to elect as the medium from the main language of the State, the Union language, namely, English or Hindi, or the language of a minority constituting about fifteen to twenty per cent or more of the population of the State. Later, on 4 September 1956, a memorandum on the safeguards was tabled in the Lok Sabha by Pant while speaking on the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill.

factor. If we are cut away from each other and if we think of our language alone and not of so many other things in our country, then instead of serving the cause of unification and advancement, languages become a source of disruption. We have to adjust the claims of language with the needs of national cohesion. That is the problem which has to be settled and that is the problem which the Commission had to handle and they have done it in a very excellent way. So let us not indulge in what might be called a stubborn linguistic fanaticism. We, in our country, have many languages and we have, in our Constitution, recognised a number of languages too but we must remember that if one were to say that a State must have only one language or that people speaking a particular language should be confined to the borders of one State alone, both of these would be altogether impracticable propositions and also a bit dangerous. No State in our country is exclusively unilingual. If you take Assam, more than half of the people speak languages other than Assamese. If you take Karnataka or the enlarged Mysore, about 30 per cent of the people will be speaking languages other than Kanarese. Similarly, in other States too, there will be a goodly number of people speaking other than the dominant language of the State. Besides, we must remember that a language that might be regarded as the dominant language of the State is not uniformly spoken in all parts of that region by all people in the same proportion. In some districts we will find about 70 per cent of the people speaking languages other than this; in some that may be 50 per cent, and in some others 60 per cent. So, we have to bear all these factors in mind when we go in for a sort of duel or a veritable fight in the name of language. We have to guard against making a fetish of language. We had laid down other principles when the Resolution appointing the Commission was issued and the Commission itself has enunciated the principles which have guided it throughout its study and settlement of these problems.

Shri S.N. Mazumdar:<sup>38</sup> But not followed in every case.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: Well, I am sometimes surprised when people look at things in a way which is altogether unbalanced.

Shri H.D. Rajah:<sup>39</sup> Or, different from the Government's point of view.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: There are four, five, six or seven principles laid down.<sup>40</sup> They have to be adjusted. They have to be co-ordinated and a picture has to be formed placing before oneself all these various criteria.

38. Communist member of Rajya Sabha for Santipur (West Bengal)

39. Freedom fighter who went to jail several times; organised Independence for India League and was its Joint Secretary; founder-president of Republican Party since 1950; elected to Rajya Sabha in 1952 and 1958.

40. Among the principles laid down by the Government of India for the reorganisation of States were: "preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India; linguistic and cultural homogeneity; financial, economic and administrative considerations; and successful working of the national plan."

But, hon. Members, I should not say anything about hon. Members, because no one has betrayed that weakness here yet but some of the critics—whether they are disinterested or not, I cannot say—concentrate on one particular criterion out of six and say that according to this particular criterion this is not right. It calls for an integrated approach; it calls for an adjustment bearing in view all these factors which will lead to a sound result. In fact, you get only a perverted picture if you indulge in methods of this sort. That had been the case here and there. In fact, it has to be emphasized that, in order to be able to assess the recommendations of the Commission in a right, correct and proper way, the approach of the critics must itself be dispassionate, integrated and balanced. If they do not view things in that manner, they are likely to be disappointed because those who go in for wrong things cannot find satisfaction in the right. These questions have to be viewed in a detached way.

I do not think it is necessary for me to give the House a summary of the recommendations of the Commission. It has suggested the abolition of Part B and C States; it has recommended that all States should be of equal status. PEPSU, Himachal Pradesh and some other States are to be merged in bigger units. Similarly, it has been recommended that new States like Karnataka, Vishalandhra and others should be formed. The recommendation about the bilingual State of Bombay has been the subject of considerable dispute. In fact, so far as I am concerned, I was greatly impressed by it when I first went through the Report of the Commission.

Shri S.N. Dwivedi:<sup>41</sup> But the Prime Minister was surprised.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: Not by this. If one were surprised, one may have been agreeably surprised and it is fair to admit that I may be one belonging to that group because it was a very original and ingenious suggestion.

It had not struck many and so the originality of it by itself commended it to those who tried to look at this problem in a constructive and dispassionate way. It gave real solace and relief that one of the baffling problems had, after all, found a sound and satisfactory solution. But that pleasure was only short-lived. After all, you cannot carry out even the best of plans except with the consent of those who have to run the chariot and to drive it. If they do not apply themselves to the task, then others cannot force the pace. That has been the difficulty.

There are other problems as the problem of Punjab and there are also some minor border problems. When I say 'minor' the word is being used in a relative way only. Every problem is by itself important for those who are concerned and interested in it, and to that extent I do not minimise the importance or significance of anything. But I hope that all problems will be viewed in their correct perspective and right decisions will be reached. I would particu-

41. Socialist member of Rajya Sabha from Orissa



larly again ask hon. Members to let us have their opinion on the general principles laid down by the Commission. Are they right or are they wrong? For, if the principles are accepted, then we get a touchstone and it becomes easy to test the correctness or otherwise of the recommendations. But let us not take up half a sentence or one of the various principles and then try to distort the entire picture. That will not help anybody. So let the principles receive adequate attention and the House can tell us if there is anything wrong, incomplete and dangerous about these principles. If not, then let us accept these principles, and I would request the House to direct us to proceed according to them.

The other thing was the one to which I have just referred. The Commission has made a number of recommendations for the protection of the interests of linguistic minorities. They have also suggested the appointment of members of Public Service Commissions by the Centre. They have made recommendations for the centralization, if you may say so, of some of the principal services. They have suggested that measures have to be taken to guard against the dangers that are in a way implicit in the linguistic reorganisation of States. While language must receive every fostering care and all of us should combine together to give protection to every language and to see that it grows and develops, let us, at the same time, not forget that all languages are the languages of India, and it is desirable that everyone here should know more than one language, and even after you have reorganised the States on the linguistic basis the citizens of those States living in those areas will have to go to other places. They will have to carry on trade, business and so many other common undertakings with others. If language is to be the limiting factor, then it will come in the way of our advancement. The country is looking forward to the introduction of the Second Five Year Plan and all our minds are concentrated today on framing a proper Plan.<sup>42</sup> It is being evolved with great care. So let not the process of reorganisation come in the way of fruition of the Second Five Year Plan. The House had accepted the urgency of the settlement of these questions and implementation of the decisions that have been reached or may be reached by unanimously passing the Constitution (Amendment) Bill.<sup>43</sup> That serves as a good augury and I hope that the voices here will be moving in unison, and we will have the opportunity of listening to a symphony which will hearten us and lead us on to the fruition which this Report is expecting, and which will receive its consummation only when these States have been formed in a proper, calm and sweet atmosphere with the goodwill and blessings of all peace-loving and enlightened citizens of this great country.

42. The Second Five Year Plan was launched in 1956. See also p. 61, fn. 6

43. The reference was to the Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Bill. For details see item 2 in the following sub-section.

Shri S.N. Mazumdar: May I know, Sir, why the hon. Minister did not refer to one of the important recommendations of the S.R.C. namely, that regarding the abolition of the posts of Rajpramukhs?

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: Yes, that is one of the recommendations.<sup>44</sup>

44. The motion was ultimately passed by the Rajya Sabha.

## 2. Appeal to Adopt a Broad View on Reorganisation of States<sup>1</sup>

The issue of States reorganisation has attracted much attention from the press and political leaders whether it deserved this or not. Congressmen have also joined at some places in the hue and cry raised over the issue. This has, however, demonstrated that if Congressmen give the right lead then the people follow them, but if they falter or give a wrong lead then the people also go astray. Such leaders fell down and allowed people to carry them away.

States reorganisation is a very minor question. I cannot understand why so much fuss is being created on it. If a district is to be included in this or that State there should not be any bloodshed on that account. Similarly, if a State, which consists of some districts, is to be merged with this or that State there is no need to be mad about it and resort to violence. The question of reorganization of States has to be viewed in proper perspective and with a sense of proportion. There is no need to imagine a fly to be as big as a crocodile.

In 1946–47 the Dar Committee<sup>2</sup> had stated that the consideration of language was of secondary importance. The J.V.P. Committee<sup>3</sup> had also similarly said that States could not be formed on the basis of language alone. The unity and security of the country and other factors have to be given more importance. Language has to be given consideration but not supreme importance. In fact, during the last ten years Congress has year after year in its sessions advocated lesser and lesser importance to this language basis in the formation of States.

If we accept that there is no need to fight on linguistic basis, then all the storm raised on it and the disorders that took place on that issue have to be deprecated. The agitation for linguistic States is artificial and mostly the political opponents of the Congress have engineered it.

1. Speech at the Amritsar Congress while seconding the resolution moved by Abul Kalam Azad on reorganisation of states on 12 February 1956. *The Hindustan Times*, 13 February 1956.

2. See p. 28, fn. 10.

3. See p. 29, fn. 11.

In Orissa the agitation was sponsored by the agents of feudal princes. These elements had never objected to the arrangements under the British rule and had meekly submitted to them. But now they have burnt railway stations and done immense harm to the nation, because certain areas which are not predominantly Oriya-speaking have not been included in Orissa.

In some cases Congressmen showed weakness under the excuse of public opinion in their respective States or districts and expressed opinions hardly becoming of them. They forgot that in fact the general public in those areas had hardly any opinion on those issues. It was only the adverse pronouncement by Congress workers in the States that gave the wrong agitation more strength by creating public opinion against the decisions of the Congress High Command. Congressmen should not forget the role they have to play. They have to muster courage and formulate public opinion in their areas on right lines.

It is fantastic to claim that a language can be developed only if a State is formed on language basis. No doubt languages have to be developed, but we cannot become slaves of languages.

*Ramcharit Manas*, the great epic of Hindi, was written by Tulsidas when Mughuls were ruling over the country, and Hindi was not the State language. The development of a language is not dependent on its becoming a State language. On the other hand, in many princely States, administration was carried on in their respective languages, but that did not contribute in any way to the growth of those languages.

In India we cannot find a district which is unilingual. To find a State where only one language is spoken is, therefore, impossible. If heads are to be broken on this issue then the result of it will be that the people speaking languages other than those of the majority will be ousted from their hearths and homes. How will the country stand together in such circumstances?

Language has to be made the basis for making the country strong. It cannot be used to divide the country. The Congress consists of people speaking all languages. It will liquidate itself if this linguistic jingoism is allowed to have a free play. This sort of attitude will end Indian culture and the sense of being Indian and the nation will fall to pieces.

In some States people are unwilling to join with the neighbouring areas on the ground that the other area is comparatively poor. Such mentality cannot make the country strong and prosperous.

When India was partitioned Hindus and Sikhs came from distant areas and they found place in the Indian Union. They were settled in Punjab and other places. But now conditions are sought to be created to make it impossible for Hindus and Sikhs to live together.

Punjab is the strongest State of the Indian Union. In every village of the State Hindus and Sikhs live together. How can we break up each village and town to make the two live separately as desired by some people? Nature has

destined Hindus and Sikhs to live together, and whatever attempts trouble-makers make they cannot separate the two. The blood of Hindus and Sikhs flowed together in the Jallianwala Bagh and again in 1947–48. How can they be disunited? Their unity is of supreme importance for Punjab. If the two fight against each other neither will get Maha Punjab or a Punjabi Suba but will bring disaster to the nation.<sup>4</sup>

If people in the country fight on the basis of languages it will tend to disunite Indians abroad who belong to all language groups. This linguistic movement will lower the prestige of Indians abroad.<sup>5</sup>

4. The Maha Punjab Samiti was agitating for formation of Maha Punjab comprising Punjab, PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh, while the Akalis were demanding Punjabi Suba comprising Punjab and PEPSU only.
5. After this, three amendments to the resolution were moved by the delegates from Utkal, Mahakoshal and PEPSU. But they were all withdrawn and after Jawaharlal Nehru's speech the resolution was put to vote and passed

### 3. To Mohanlal Saksena<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 21/22, 1956

My dear Mohanlal,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of 18th February and for the note on the States Reorganisation that you have been good enough to enclose with it. The question of reorganisation of States has been extremely intricate and difficult. In the face of innumerable competing claims and controversies no universally acceptable solution could be found. As you say, the basic objective of maintaining the unity and solidarity of the country has always to be kept in the forefront and proposals have to be fitted in in this background. This had been the attempt of the Congress and the Government from the very beginning. Unfortunately in some cases whatever solutions were pro-

1. Mohanlal Saksena Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (henceforth N.M.M.L.).
2. B. 1896; participated in non-cooperation movement in 1920; member Swaraj Party; member Lucknow Municipal Board 1923–25; member U.P. Legislative Council 1924–26; General Secretary U.P. P.C.C. 1928–35; elected to Central Legislative Assembly in 1934 and 1945; member Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament 1946–52; Union Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation 1948–50; member Lok Sabha 1952–57; member Rajya Sabha 1959–64; d. 1964.

posed became unacceptable to one section or the other and fissiparous tendencies were badly exposed to view. Luckily there has been a reversal of opinion now towards healthier direction and Amritsar Congress has, as you correctly say, given the required lead in the matter.<sup>3</sup> For the present the only course open appears to be that the decisions already arrived at should be adhered to. The proposal of merger of Bengal and Bihar on fruition will, one hopes, generate similar forces of cohesion also elsewhere in the country so that sooner or later the emergence of more bi- or multi-lingual States strengthening country's spirit of unity may become possible.<sup>4</sup> I might have occasion to discuss the matter with you some time.

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

- 3 Expressing deep concern over the "recent developments" in the country with regard to the question of reorganisation of States, the Amritsar Congress, held on 11-12 February 1956, declared that "language cannot be the dominating factor in the demarcation of States, although it is an important factor to be considered." It also endorsed the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, but added that such changes as were considered necessary could be made by general agreement.
- 4 The Chief Minister of Bihar Sri Krishna Sinha and the Chief Minister of Bengal B.C. Roy, in a joint statement issued on 23 January 1956, proposed the merger of the two States "subject to the fact that the people concerned will have to be consulted and an atmosphere of voluntary reunion and cooperation has to be created." The proposal was made following the passage of a resolution by the Congress Working Committee on 22 January declaring that unilingual States might exist, but in the circumstances existing in India it was desirable to encourage, wherever possible, the formation of bilingual and larger States with regional councils for each linguistic area. However, the proposal for the merger of Bihar and Bengal was ultimately dropped.

#### 4. Linguistic Provinces not at the Cost of Development of the Country<sup>1</sup>

Sir, this Address of the President has been under discussion here for the last three days.<sup>2</sup> I have not had the privilege of listening to every one of the

1. Speech in Rajya Sabha, 23 February 1956 *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol 12, cols 681-96.
2. A motion of thanks on the President's address to the joint session of both the Houses on 15 February 1956 had been moved by Indra Vidya Vachaspati, Congress member of Rajya Sabha from U.P., on 21 February.

speeches, but I have acquainted myself with all that has been said and my colleague Shri Datar<sup>3</sup> has been good enough to inform me about the utterances that have been made. I would like to express my gratitude to the House for the way they have dealt with the Address. It covers considerable ground and deals with the principal activities of the Government for the year that has just closed. On the whole, there has been little criticism but for the batteries directed again towards the States Reorganisation Commission Report, and the developments that have followed since. I venture to think that nothing had been said here which would appear to be a disapproval of the policy of the Government in any matter. I conclude therefrom that the whole House is generally in agreement with what the Government has done.

This House consists of experienced leading men and their approval of the policies of the Government can give encouragement and can serve to hearten us all. Shri Bhupesh Gupta<sup>4</sup> was smiling when I was testifying to the experience and the wisdom of the Members of the House. He seemed to have some doubts about himself. Well, I can only wish that he may outgrow them and be able to look at things from the right and not the obtuse or acute angle.

Sir, a number of amendments were notified initially. I have looked at them. But in the course of the discussion, all of them—at least most of them—seemed to have been completely forgotten, if not deliberately ignored. That indicates that while in a formal way certain allegations were made, yet no one thought it necessary, advisable or expedient to develop their themes further. That again indicates that what was stated in the Address being only a review of the events was, on further consideration, found to be unassailable. I believe it is so.

The Address naturally deals with all spheres with which we in this House have to deal. It has given considerable space to foreign affairs. And then, it has referred to the salient features of the proceedings of this House or of the other House or of the happenings of the last twelve months.

In the field of foreign affairs, there is little to be said now. There is, I think, complete unanimity in the country that the policy that was initiated long ago by our Prime Minister, even before the Congress assumed reins of

3. B.N.Datar; b.1894; advocate and Congressman of Belgaum (Bombay); took part in non-cooperation movement; member Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee 1928; president Belgaum City Congress Committee 1951; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952 and 1957; Union Deputy Minister for Home Affairs 1952–56; d.1963.
4. B.1914; a leading member of the Communist Party of India (C.P.I.); arrested several times for revolutionary activities during the freedom movement; member of Rajya Sabha from West Bengal 1952–76, and re-elected in 1976; delegate of the C.P.I. at international conferences of Communists and workers at Moscow in 1957, 1960 and 1969; d.1981.

office, was best and most suited to our country and also designed to do good not only to us, but also to others. That stands fully vindicated.

The doctrine of *Panchsheel*<sup>5</sup> has been accepted by all countries and Shri Bhupesh Gupta must be happy that the leaders of Russia who came here recently endorsed it in an unqualified and unreserved manner. So, we stand for a policy—an active, energetic and vigorous one—of peace, friendliness, amity and goodwill for all. We have no malice against any country and we wish to do whatever an economically backward country like ours can to serve others in our own humble way. We do not claim any special position, but we are actuated and guided only by one passion, one desire and one objective, that is, of fostering, promoting and maintaining peace in the world and also between those who may be inclined to go at each other's throats. I venture to think that our policy in that regard has not been altogether unsuccessful. It is not a verdict which we are competent to give. But we can take note of what others who have not always been friendly to us or to our policy have said. So, we can take some pride in the fact that, although we are only a democracy of a few years—an ancient and independent State—yet our leaders have been able to make a mark—and a permanent mark—for which they will always be complimented not only by our own people, but also by all men of virtue and wisdom all over the world. That is a thing of which we can take note and which will continue to help us in our disinterested activity towards the welfare and well-being of all countries and all peoples.

Sir, in our own country, we will now be starting on a new enterprise. The First Five Year Plan will have achieved its targets almost fully within the next few weeks. It is again a matter of gratification that our First Five Year Plan has yielded very satisfactory and thoroughly adequate results. All the targets which we laid for ourselves have been almost achieved. When we started this difficult task, sceptics were many. Few had expected that our people and our Administrations spread all over the country would prove equal to its demands. Our resources were limited, our technical skill was still more strictly defined and restricted, and in other ways too, we were backward. Still, in spite of all these drawbacks and handicaps, our people, through their own unaided efforts, have been able to achieve something which will prove fruitful not only for the present but will yield dividends for all times to come. Now, we are on the threshold of the new Plan. It will commence at the start of the coming financial year. It is a much bigger Plan.<sup>6</sup> The

5. See p. 411, fn. 8.

6. The Second Five Year Plan, drawn up for the period 1956–1961, aimed at structural changes in the economy with stress on rapid industrial development, building of heavy industry for the production of capital goods, expansion of village industries to produce consumer goods and providing employment.

amount that we propose to spend is, considering our Budgets and resources, considerable. We have framed a Plan which will cost Rs. 4,800 crores. By the end of the next Five Year Plan we hope that many of the machines and tools and plants that we import from outside will be produced in our own country. We also hope that our production of foodstuffs will increase to such a degree that we will not only be able to satisfy all our needs but also to export a fair amount to our neighbouring countries. In the field of social services, we will be doing much more than what we have been able to do during the last five years. The additional expenditure for social services comes to about Rs. 1,000 crores. This expenditure over our Plan of Rs. 4,800 crores really exceeds the total budgetary expenditure that we would have otherwise incurred during the five years in the Centre and in all the States.

We hope to achieve an appreciable increase in the *per capita* income; our expectation is that it will rise by about 25 per cent, and we also hope that the employment opportunities which will be released will be able not only to feed the new mouths that come into existence every day in our country but will also give shelter and succour to those who have to suffer pangs of hunger today in large numbers. These are the main objectives, but we can fulfil these only if all of us regard this Plan as a national Plan and throw ourselves into this task with energy and earnestness, determined to serve the masses and to bring the fulfilment of our aim of a socialist pattern of society and *Sarvodaya* nearer and nearer. It is through these methods—by increasing production, by ensuring equitable distribution, by bringing about so far as possible equality of opportunity—that we expect to be able to maintain the present standards and to raise them steadily and progressively to the point when everyone will have enough not only to satisfy his needs but also to enjoy the good things that Providence has stored in this country for every single citizen. It is to enable everyone to develop his personality to the maximum extent that this Plan has been formulated, but the resources that we will have to find go far beyond our ordinary savings. The Plan envisages deficit financing to the extent of Rs.1,200 crores. Still there is a gap to be met. So, it is hoped and it becomes the privilege and the duty of everyone, especially of the leaders and hon. Members of this House, to see to it that this gap is covered, that there is no impediment in the way of the fulfilment of the targets and of the programmes in accordance with the time schedule prescribed for these purposes. I would, therefore, appeal to hon. Members to give special thought to this question and to co-operate to the maximum extent that they possibly can in seeing that this great enterprise and undertaking is carried through, so that the foundations may be securely laid and, for the Third Plan our resources may be much greater than what we have today.

Sir, in the course of the discussions here, as I said at the outset, considerable attention has been given to the S.R.C. Report. Observations of various types have been made. Some have alleged that our methods have not



been democratic, some that we have been vacillating, some that our mind is confused, some that our policies have not been consistent, and some that we have been proceeding in a dictatorial manner. Well, these criticisms are not quite consistent; many of them cancel each other out, but still I should like to say a few words in this connection. We have tried to follow a consistent policy. Yet in this dynamic age, we cannot keep our eyes shut and our ears closed.

We should take full note of whatever happens and of all that is said and of all that is done whether for good or for evil. The doings are of various types. There are acts and there are also omissions. Before the States Reorganisation Commission Report was published, we had tried to appeal to the people to receive the Report in a calm and tranquil atmosphere, to treat the recommendations with respect and, so far as possible, to accept them. That was our appeal even before the Report was published. After we had received the Report, we published it within ten days. Then as a democratic country and those who have adopted a democratic way of life, we invited suggestions and comments of all who were interested in or affected by it. We gave every opportunity to every person and we, in our Home Ministry alone, have since received about 50,000 criticisms, memoranda and representations. All these were closely examined. There were discussions in the press naturally, as the subject was important. Then discussions were also held in State Legislatures. We had a conference of Chief Ministers—in fact we met more than once. We had very long debates in the Parliament. All that was relevant and perhaps something that might have been irrelevant was said in this connection. Yet the subject is one which attracts attention and hon. Members have again concentrated on it for the most part during the last three days. No democratic Government would have done more than what we did. In fact, some have blamed us the other way that we should not have given such a free scope for discussion. That would have been hardly fair because we don't want to foist anything upon our people. After all, they are the masters of the situation and we have been guided throughout by one principle and that has been the pole-star which has guided all our activities, i.e. whatever we do should carry with it the maximum consent, agreement and approval of the people concerned. If we have made any changes, we have done so to carry out this very principle in action. We have tried to make changes only where we found that the S.R.C. Report had made proposals which did not commend themselves to the persons affected. Yet I feel that people, in their criticisms, have taken almost a one-sided view of the affair. If they were to look at the entire picture, they would find that the achievements far exceed the little that has yet to be accomplished.

Look at the Report. It made several suggestions. It covered the whole country. It produced proposals for redrawing the entire map of India. Yet, of these proposals, only two or three are still the subject of discussion or con-

troversy. All others, with such changes as we considered advisable, had been accepted by the entire country. It is natural that when you have a tooth-ache, you must be thinking only of that ache and forget that all other limbs of your body are healthy. So, also, only Bombay looms large today and the rest of the country which is normal, has, in a way, gone into oblivion because it is free from trouble. But if success is to be measured only by creating trouble, then we have failed. If success is to be measured by smoothly fulfilling a big plan, then I humbly venture to submit that we have succeeded beyond expectations. Look at the proposals. The abolition of A,B, and C classification of States, the abolition of Rajpramukhs, the safeguards for linguistic minorities, the proposals for strengthening and promoting the unity and the integrity of the country—all these have been accepted by almost everyone. Then go further. We have been able to persuade the parties concerned to accept many of the principal proposals. The State of Madhya Pradesh, which is to consist of four States, i.e. in which other three at least have to merge completely effacing themselves out of existence as separate entities, has been accepted and the proposal is going to be implemented.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the State of Karnataka is going to be formed with Mysore and districts added from two or three other States. All have accepted the proposal with such modifications as have made the scheme acceptable to everybody. Then take the State of Kerala. It has similarly been accepted. Hyderabad has been disintegrated and divided into three parts—that has been accepted.<sup>8</sup> I hope Vishalandhra will also come into existence with other States, but only with the approval of all concerned and I trust all will agree. You will be remembering that the Commission had recommended that Vidarbha should remain separate and had not prescribed any time-limit for its merging with any other State but Vidarbha and Maharashtra will be one State in any case. There was no State provided for Maharashtra but we will have a big Maharashtra State. We will also have a Gujarat State. We hope it may be possible to have a Punjab State with the approval of all concerned with such changes as may be acceptable to all. Well, I am only expressing a hope, because at this stage nothing more can be said. Then Rajasthan will carry out the proposals that have been made in the S.R.C. Report.<sup>9</sup> Tripura will remain separate, with the consent of Tripura and Assam. I would be gratified if Tripura and Assam

7. See p. 43, fn. 21.

8. See p. 48, fn. 30.

9. As regards Rajasthan, the States Reorganisation Commission recommended that after the "proposed merger of Sironj in the new Madhya Pradesh State, Rajasthan should continue in its present form" subject to the addition of Ajmer and the Abu Road taluk of the Banaskantha district of Bombay, the Sunel enclave of the Mandsaur district of Madhya Bharat and the Loharu sub-tahsil of the Hissar district of the Punjab.

could again agree to live together as one State, but again the change has been made with the consent of the parties and in order to give greater satisfaction to them.<sup>10</sup> There were many other proposals relating to boundary disputes and other matters. Those too have been mostly settled with the consent of the parties. So, without going further into details, may I humbly request hon. Members to remember that what remains is but a fraction of what has already been accomplished? So let us not underrate what has been done, and let us not delude ourselves by thinking that everything is wrong, and that there is nothing but drudgery, controversy and conflict before us. We have settled all except one or two, and we are sure that the remaining ones too will be settled. Some of our friends have said that it would have been better if the Report had been shelved. But there are many others who think that it would not only be a counsel of despair, but it would be, in every way, wrong to go back upon the programme that we had outlined some time ago. Well, great countries and great people are not frightened of dangers. They have to face problems, to apply their minds in a positive way, to solve the problems in a dignified manner, to see them through and not run away from them. So we have to see that whatever is left is also put through and that the entire scheme is carried out according to the schedule framed by us at the outset.

Criticism has also been made, as I said, about our policy being a vacillating one. I do not know where that vacillation has been seen, or perceived or suspected; on the other hand, we have throughout been facing this problem in a befitting manner. We have throughout pledged ourselves to one guiding principle, that of consulting our people, respecting their wishes and doing whatever is possible in order to meet them. So we had to change the proposals in some cases in order to satisfy them and in a manner which we think is just and sound. Some of those who suggest that the Report should have been shelved, when it comes to the proposals concerning their own States, are particularly keen that they should be put through without delay. Similarly, some people who say that the Report should have been accepted as it has emerged, without any change, when it comes to the proposals concerning them, press for a change. Many of those who have made observations of this character have suggested that Bombay should go with Maharashtra. Well, you cannot have it both ways. If the S.R.C. recommendation is to be accepted, then it has to be a bilingual State. If you want a change, then you cannot have it both ways. So the criticisms do not seem to be well-founded.

10. The States Reorganisation Commission had recommended merger of Tripura, which was a small Part C State, in Assam on the ground that "it will be desirable to bring the entire border between India and Pakistan in this region under one single control, namely, that of the Assam Government."

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: We cannot catch this logic.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: I have not been able to catch your words. They must be words of wisdom and I would like to listen to them later.

Then there has been some criticism on the ground of our giving sometimes a subordinate place to linguistic considerations. Our policy in this regard has throughout been consistent. We have accepted that linguistic harmony is an important factor and it must be given due weight in the reorganisation of the States. But, at the same time, we have repeatedly said that linguism or linguistic fanaticism is a mischievous thing and we should steer clear of these linguistic rocks if we are to build a sound, integrated and united country. It has often been seen that unilingual States tend to become somewhat conservative, somewhat narrow-minded, somewhat petty in their outlook. I do not say that it is always so. But it has often been seen and those who are in a position to pronounce on matters of this character have given definite opinions to this effect. The Commission too, after examining the entire question, accepted the principle and they said that there should be a balanced approach, that all relevant factors should be taken into account, but two must be given prominence and priority over others. One is the integrity, security and prosperity of the country as a whole. No part can thrive if India ceases to carry on the concerted effort for the building up of the new order throughout the length and breadth of this land. It is only through the co-ordinated effort of all people living in this country that we can attain the goal that we have laid and prescribed for ourselves. The second thing is that whatever we may do, our Plan should not suffer and we should be able to carry out all schemes for material, spiritual and cultural development without any impediments and hindrance. Subject to these, language should also be given due weight. So there has never been any inconsistency in this regard.

The other day Shri Bhupesh Gupta talked of sub-nationalities in India. We do not believe in this fiction of a sub-nationality. We all belong to one nation. We live in a Union and not in a federation and we are all citizens of this great Republic.<sup>11</sup> Sometimes people are misled by the series of Soviet Republics that exist in Russia. They are told that there every Republic has its own language and is free to develop its own culture. I do not criticise their system; they are perfectly entitled to adopt such means as suit them and I believe that what they have done must be quite appropriate in their case but they all live in a monolithic State. Even the budget of every village soviet has to be approved by the highest body in the land. The resolutions passed, the laws accepted, can be cancelled and rejected by a higher body. They

11. Bhupesh Gupta, while opposing the proposal of merger of Bengal and Bihar, stated that "the unity of India was to be strengthened by developing mutual and fraternal bonds between the various nationalities who inhabit our country."

have a sort of hierarchy one over the other and all above the lowest one are entitled to kick out what is done by the lower or the lowest itself. So, when you have a State like that, the various States are just like administrative units, whether in charge of Commissioners or Collectors or are the so-called soviets. They are all subject to the control, guidance and supervision of everybody above them. So, in the circumstances, to talk of liberty in their case or as though they were self-sufficient States is, I think, not absolutely correct. Our system is entirely different. The States here are autonomous. Whatever power has been given to them by the Constitution, they can freely exercise and no one can interfere with those States. That difference must be borne in mind.

There has been some reference to the unfortunate incidents that have taken place in recent weeks. I do not want to mention the details. It is a matter of deep sorrow to us that such outbursts of violence should have been witnessed in any part of the country. No community can be blamed for, that. It can be the work only of misguided individuals or anti-social elements but it has done considerable damage to the reputation of our country. We are today preaching the doctrine of *Panchsheel*, of peaceful coexistence and are expecting that even inveterate enemies will be able to make up their differences in a peaceful way and gradually outlive the stage of hostility and to convert it into one of friendship. In the circumstances, that anything like this should happen in our country cannot but be a matter of immense sorrow to every one of us. I will not say anything about the causes that led to what happened. It is, in the present case, not an occasion for argument. Some people have said that some of our proposals have not been supported by any arguments. Argument is to be advanced in order to convince a man who has not yet been convinced but, first of all, there should be the proper atmosphere which can enable one to appreciate an argument in its proper perspective. So long as that atmosphere is lacking and people are not in a mood to examine and assess all relevant factors in a calm, rational and detached way, nothing is served by advancing elaborate arguments. We have to see that the wounds are healed; we have to see that where distrust has crept in, it is replaced by trust; we have to see that where people, who had been living like neighbours for ages but have fallen out, may unite again and resume the threads that have been unhappily snapped today. That should be our effort. On occasions like this, to ask for enquiry into the happenings is needless and is hardly of any use. It can do no good. It can only keep the sore there alive and it can only make the wounds even deeper and prevent them from healing up. So, let there be no talk about it. Let us forget and forgive and let us apply our minds to the future and see that we regain the prestige that we had lost and we regain the great name which we had earned. We should also see that within our own country we begin to think in proper terms. We cannot think or speak in terms of my people, my tribe and so on. We are all one

people and we have outgrown what is usually called the tribal and primitive stage. We all claim to be civilized, to be polished and even refined. So, in these circumstances, let nothing happen which gives the lie to our claims or which will give a handle to our opponents to be used against us.

There is still the case of Goa which is yet to be solved and to be tackled. A small country like Portugal which is not equal to a very small province of ours has been behaving in an outrageous way. It had been having recourse to terrorism in order to resist the legitimate claim of India which is moral, which is in every way justified according to the international code. We want no more than that Goa, which is part of our country geographically, culturally, socially and spiritually, should also be politically a part of our country. We will not in any way be scared away by the threats of anyone, nor by any alliances which the people of Portugal may be able to build up or may imagine they have built up against us. Our cause is just and I am sure that Goa will be ours much earlier than many imagine. So, we have to stick to our peaceful methods and to see that the moral force, the spiritual force, which brought us freedom and which brought us the French possessions, also proves potent and powerful enough to bring us Goa which is ours and which the Goanese want to be part of India, their own motherland, their own country.<sup>12</sup>

Sir, there has been a reference to certain proposals that have been made for the union of Bengal and Bihar.<sup>13</sup> I had hoped that every proposal for a union would be welcome to every man who wishes this country to be strong and great. Unity is our prime necessity. It is still true that there are disruptive elements; there are disintegrating forces in our country. So wherever we can come closer we should try to do so. The methods may differ. The systems adopted in different States may not be exactly alike, but essentially, wherever we can come closer, we should readily accept and approve of all such proposals. Bengal, you know, had a considerable area in the past. It has been reduced in size because of partition. Large numbers of refugees are coming to Bengal every day. They don't find sufficient elbow-room in Bengal. I will not speak of the ways of Pakistan in this connection. If they consider this question dispassionately, they will realise that, when thousands are leaving Pakistan every day, the fault must lie with their system of administration. Otherwise there is no reason why they should desert their hearths and homes and flee like this to other lands. Then there are millions of Bengalis in Bihar and similarly millions of Biharis in Bengal. In the olden days they used to have almost a common language and there were poets who were respected by both. Calcutta is a big city. There are resources, mineral and other, in Bihar which have to be exploited and which can add to the wealth

12. Goa was ultimately integrated with India in December 1961 following a brief military action.

13. See fn.4 in the preceding item.

of the country. So men, technical skill, raw material and other means needed for this economic and material development can be easily found if these two States unite, and thus they can prove of great help to each other. I will not give other reasons for it, but I do not at all see why there should be any objection to this. This much is clear that such a union can be the result only of the free voluntary choice of the two States. It is not going to be imposed on anyone. But, if the States agree, those who are interested in cutting this country into bits may be disappointed, but the integrity, the strength and the unity of the country will certainly be promoted by the consummation of this proposal. We were thinking only in terms of separatism. Small bits of territory had become the bone of contention and our minds were running into ways which might well have led us to disaster. In the circumstances far-sighted people held that, while keeping to the principles of reorganisation, the basic fundamentals should be given the priority and the prominence they deserved and everything else should be subordinated to the imperative need of the hour. In the circumstances, we have reason to be grateful to the people and to those wise men who have initiated this thing. They have, I hope, the goodwill of this House.

Sir, I do not think it is necessary for me to take any more time of the House—I have already exceeded the limit.<sup>14</sup>

14. After this, several amendments to the motion were moved but they were all rejected and the motion of thanks on the President's address was passed.





## **REORGANISATION OF STATES**

### **II. The States Reorganisation Bill – I**

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## 1. To Chief Ministers of Part A and B States<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
17th October, 1955

My dear Chief Minister,

A copy of the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission was despatched to you on the 30th September 1955.<sup>2</sup> During this period you might have given thought to the recommendations made by the Commission and their likely reactions in your State. The Report has now been released for publication and this has to be followed by measures necessary for taking decisions on the proposals made by the Commission.

Before the Government of India formulate their views they are naturally anxious to have the opinion of the State Governments on the general scheme of reorganisation proposed by the Commission and the specific proposals by which particular State Governments may be affected.

If any changes are proposed in respect of your State in the Bill, which will be placed before Parliament in due course, your legislature will have the opportunity under the Constitution of expressing its views later. You may, however, like to have a preliminary consultation with your legislature even before that stage is reached. I shall be grateful if the views of your Government—and if you choose to consult it also at this stage along with those of your legislature—are communicated to the Government of India not later than the 30th November 1955.

There is one more important aspect to which I should like to invite your particular attention. Conflicting claims about reorganisation have given rise to a degree of emotional unrest in certain areas which tends to impede a constructive and objective approach to the problem.

The task of reconciling competitive claims and of balancing regional sentiment with national interests is an extremely difficult one. The need, therefore, for maintaining an atmosphere in which the recommendations of the Commission may be examined calmly and dispassionately cannot be too strongly emphasized. The Prime Minister has already drawn attention to this matter so that the recommendations of the Commission may be viewed in correct perspective, in a proper climate and temper. This will add to your already heavy burden, but I need hardly say that if any proposals bearing on the reorganisation of States are allowed to develop into major political controver-

1. File No. 4/1/55-SR, Ministry of Home Affairs, National Archives of India (henceforth N.A.I.).

2. For details see p. 25, fn.2.

sies, the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan will be dislocated and larger national interests are bound to suffer.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

## **2. Need for Consultation with State Legislatures for Reorganisation of States<sup>1</sup>**

I am glad that the matter has been discussed thoroughly. Sometimes there are lingering doubts left when questions are not handled in a straightforward and open manner in the House. The Bill had a definite purpose. It was introduced with a view to expediting the process of finalisation of the consideration of the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission and to have ample assistance of all sections of opinion and particularly of the legislatures before framing any specific proposals for the consideration of this honourable House.<sup>2</sup> I would like to state at once that this Bill is not a final one for all time to come. In fact, as mentioned by Shri Chatterjee, it will probably have to undergo revision soon after we have taken a decision on the basis of that Report, because it refers to parts A and B States and there will be no A and B States if the proposal of the Commission is accepted by this House.<sup>3</sup> So, the clause with which we are concerned here will have to be amended in any case. If any further change is considered necessary, we will certainly be prepared to give serious thought to any suggestions that may be made by hon. Members. I have, however, been somewhat perplexed by an attitude of distrust.<sup>4</sup> I do not see any ground for these misgivings. If actions do not assure people, words perhaps cannot. What have we done? We consulted the Chief Ministers of the States at a time when we were not bound to consult them. We referred the Report,

1. Speech in Lok Sabha, 12 and 13 December 1955 *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol 10, cols 2463-7.

2. The Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Bill, later called the Constitution (Fifth Amendment) Bill, introduced by the Law Minister, C.C. Biswas, in the Lok Sabha on 8 December 1955, provided that a Bill for the "formation of new States or altering the boundaries of States" could be introduced in either House only after the President had recommended it, and, secondly, after he had procured the opinion of the concerned State Legislatures about it.

3. The report of the States Reorganisation Commission, published in October 1955, recommended removal of the distinction between Parts 'A', 'B' and 'C' States. For details see p. 25, fn.2.

4. H.V. Kamath of the Praja Socialist Party had remarked that if his amendment that the views obtained by the Government from the States should be placed before the Parliament was not accepted, then "it will prove, conclusively, to the hilt Government's desire, preparedness or readiness to ride roughshod over Parliament or the State Legislatures."

which had come from the Commission which had spent considerable time over the issues that were under their consideration, for the scrutiny of the entire country, and still more so, of the legislatures. There was no law making it incumbent on the Government to refer the matter to the legislatures, but we did. We did because we think it will strengthen us, we did because we want to work in a democratic way, we did because we rely on the co-operation of our people, of the legislatures and of the hon. Members of this House. We can have all that only when we seek their assistance in a constructive way. So, it would be unwise on the part of any Government to thrust or impose anything on any part of the country against its wishes. When we have gone out of our way in a matter like this, I do not see where is the room for any suspicion that the Government, on its part, will try to hustle matters in an indecent way. That seems to me to be somewhat, if not cruel, at least inconsiderate.

As to the proposal, what we have said is only this, that the time will be fixed by the Government, but for what?—only to enable it to place a Bill before the House. This House consists of the representatives of the people, it has the final voice in everything. If it be of the opinion that we are proceeding with undue haste and that a brake is necessary, it can ask for the circulation of the Bill, it can take any other measure. If it wants, it can even throttle it completely. It seems that the Members of the House perhaps sometimes forget their own powers, their own might, and that can be the only explanation for the attitude that they have betrayed. What is it that you want to be done, and why is there this sort of opposition!

A reference has been made to the suspension of the rule.<sup>5</sup> That is not quite relevant or necessary at this stage, but the point requires a little clarification.

We suspended the rule. Did any individual suspend it? Did Government suspend it?

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: The rules.

Pandit G.B. Pant: The entire body of Members of this House minus one did that. Then against whom is the complaint? Is it the complaint that all the Members of this House acted wrongly, that this decision amounted to an abuse of the process if I may say so? If that is so then it is a reflection on the discretion, wisdom and capacity of this House. I hope nobody had any such intention.

What are the rules meant for? When a rule is suspended, is anything unconstitutional done? There is a rule in the rules that any rule may be suspended. When the Speaker acts according to that rule, what is the irregularity

5. Rule 321 which laid down that "a motion must not raise a question substantially identical with one on which the House had given a decision in the same session" had been suspended. This was done in order to facilitate the introduction of the Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Bill, as the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Bill, which contained almost similar provisions and was moved in the same session, had not been "carried".

about it? He suspends a rule and observes a rule in suspending that. Does that rule say: What is the rule to be suspended and what is the rule to be used? What were the circumstances under which the rule was suspended?

So far as this Bill is concerned, whether it is identical with its predecessor or not, it is accepted by all that it is an improvement on the previous Bill.<sup>6</sup> But so far as the previous Bill went, it was supported, I think, by about 246 hon. Members and there were only two against it. Should we be prevented by any rule from giving effect to the unanimous will of this House? Are our rules meant to carry out the collective will and wisdom of this House or are they to come in the way of the will of this House being carried out. The suspension of a rule which had come in the way of the implementation of the unanimous decision of this House was necessary in order to maintain the dignity and majesty of our House. So, to regard it as an encroachment on the right of this House is, I think, an utter misconception.

Coming to this amendment about the views of the legislatures in the States not only being ascertained but being made binding on this Parliament, I think Shri Deshpande in a way out-heroded Herod.<sup>7</sup> When this Constitution was framed, the Constituent Assembly consisted exclusively of representatives of the State Legislatures and they were satisfied with the provisions that have been placed in our Constitution. They did not feel the need of any other safeguard. They left it to Parliament, to take decisions on all these matters. But Shri Deshpande wants to cripple this Parliament and to say that a State legislature should have a dominance over the Parliament and its decision must prevail against the consensus of opinion or the considered view of this Parliament. He must understand that in this country we proceeded on a different basis. We had almost a sort of a unitary Constitution and out of that we carved a number of States. It was not a conglomeration of independent States that was given the garb of a federation here. Here we had a unitary Constitution and the entire country was under one Government for all practical purposes, while in other countries like America, independent States agreed among themselves to combine together for certain purposes. It might have been suitable and proper in their cases but here they need not necessarily be so and certainly are not because whatever action you may take in one State, it certainly produces reactions in other States and also in the neighbouring States. So, unless Parliament takes a decision, no one can take an integrated view of such matters within their own legislatures. So, it was deliberately provided that oppor-

6. Under the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Bill, it was open to the Government to introduce a Bill for the reorganisation of States even without waiting for the views of the State Legislatures. The Bill was not "carried" as it could not get the required two-thirds majority.

7. V.G. Deshpande of the Hindu Mahasabha had moved that a Part 'A' or Part 'B' State could not be merged with another State or States unless the Legislature of that State had voted for it. Ultimately, the amendment was withdrawn by him.

tunities for the expression of their views should be given to them but the decision should be taken by the Parliament itself.

I do not think there was any other matter to which I am required to refer now. I have already assured the House and I would advise the local administrations—the Chief Commissioners—of Manipur and Tripura to consult.....

An hon. Member: Kutch also.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Yes Kutch and if there is any similar State which I have forgotten, that State also—to consult so far as feasible the members of the electoral colleges. We were not required under the rules to consult 'C' class legislatures, but we have consulted them; now we are going to consult them again. We have been more anxious to consult them than hon. Members of this House sitting here. We want the support of the entire nation. We do not want to delay the implementation of the proposals of the Commission with such modifications as may commend themselves to the wisdom and judgement of this House a day longer than necessary. We are not going to do so because we have faith in ourselves and we have faith in our country. So, we will go ahead and see that the decisions are reached and implemented without delay and that is the purpose of this Bill.<sup>8</sup>

- 8 The Bill was passed unanimously the same day. And two days later, on 15 December, it was passed by the Rajya Sabha also

### 3. Need for Mutual Trust for Proper Consideration of the States Reorganisation Bill<sup>1</sup>

Sir,<sup>2</sup> I do not intend to inflict any long speech. If necessary, I shall speak, more fully perhaps, when the debate comes to a close. The subject-matter of this

- 1 Speech in Lok Sabha on 23 and 26 April and in Rajya Sabha on 30 April and 2 May 1956 *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 4, cols. 6079-87, 6090 and 6455-66, and *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. 13, cols. 1015-30

Pant moved in the Lok Sabha a motion for reference of the States Reorganisation Bill introduced by him in the House on 16 April to a Joint Committee of both the Houses consisting of 30 members from the Lok Sabha and 15 from the Rajya Sabha. He also proposed the names of Lok Sabha members for nomination to the Joint Committee, among them being S. Nijalingappa, S.K. Patil, Shriman Narayan, B.N. Datar, Frank Anthony, J.B. Kripalani, Asoka Mehta and N.C. Chatterjee.

2. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar was the Speaker of Lok Sabha.

M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar; b.1891; participated in non-cooperation movement 1921-22; elected to Central Legislative Assembly in 1934; elected secretary Congress Parliamentary Party in 1947; Deputy Speaker Provisional Parliament 1949-52, and Lok Sabha 1952-56, and Speaker 1956-62; Governor of Bihar 1962-67; d. 1978.

Bill has been before the country for more than six months. The report of the S.R.C. was published on the 10th of October last and since that date it has been the subject of discussion not only in all the legislatures and in the Parliament but also outside. The press has dealt with the proposals that were made by the S.R.C. fully and closely and the recommendations were also examined, supported or opposed at innumerable meetings. The matter has really been talked about so much that one sometimes feels that it has perhaps become somewhat stale. But, still it deals with questions of more than ordinary importance and it is necessary to consider afresh and weigh the arguments for and against the proposals that have been made previously or that appear in the present form in the Bill.<sup>3</sup>

We, in this House, had the opportunity of taking part in a grand debate which came to an end on the 23rd December last, just four months ago. We have since had the benefit of going through the reports of the proceedings that have been held in the various State legislatures during the last three weeks. The debate in Parliament was of a unique type. Never before had so much of time been given to the discussion of any report and never before had so many hon. Members taken part in such a discussion. After the matter had been thoroughly thrashed out in and outside the Parliament, the Central Government expressed its views on the points that were at issue or under consideration on the 16th of January last.<sup>4</sup>

The announcement then made covered most of the proposals that are embodied in this Bill. Only two or three matters were left over; those relating to the State of Punjab, the Bellary taluk or district of Karnataka at present, and also the unification or otherwise of Telengana with Andhra. These were the three questions that were then left over.

I am glad to inform the House, as hon. Members may be knowing, that all these outstanding matters have been since settled with the general agreement of all parties concerned. The representatives of the people in Andhra and Telengana have agreed to have a unitary or unified State, and the other matter about Punjab, which had been a vexed question, more or less of a chronic type

3. The States Reorganisation Bill moved by Pant in the Lok Sabha on 16 April 1956 proposed, among other things, formation of 15 States and seven Union territories. The 15 States were: Andhra-Telengana, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Jammu and Kashmir. And the seven Union Territories were: Greater Bombay, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Andaman and Nicobar, and Laccadives, Minicoy and Amindivi islands.
4. Having accepted most of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission with certain changes, the Government of India, in a communique issued on 16 January 1956, stated, among other things, that Bombay State should be divided into Marathi-speaking and Gujarati-speaking States with Bombay city as a Centrally-administered area, that all States should be grouped into five zones, each having a zonal council to deal with matters of common concern, and that the future of the Punjab and the Telengana area in Hyderabad would be decided later.



for a very long period, has also been settled to the satisfaction of the bulk of the people living in the Punjab.<sup>5</sup>

An hon. Member: No.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Well, there was an occasion when Bernard Shaw was listening to the performance relating to one of his plays. All people outside expressed their appreciation and applause was given by the entire audience. One of them booed and said: "I do not agree". Mr. Shaw, who happened to be there, said "You and I are the only two persons to agree, but all others disagree". That is the case here too.

Shri K.K. Basu:<sup>6</sup> Does the Minister agree with him?

Pandit G.B. Pant: So, the outstanding problems relating to the Punjab have also been settled.

With the unification of the States of Telengana and Andhra, the problem of Bellary became relatively simple and an agreement was reached of a general character. The Commission had suggested the transfer of Bellary or some of its talukas to Andhra for the protection of the Tungabhadra Project. The Central Government has received an assurance from the Government of Mysore and have taken it upon themselves to see to it that the Tungabhadra Project is carried out speedily, that it is maintained in proper order, that the benefits that could accrue from it are fully enjoyed by the people of Andhra, and that nobody will in any way interfere with such enjoyment.<sup>7</sup> So these problems have been settled.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram:<sup>8</sup> Have the Andhra Government agreed to this proposition?

Pandit G.B. Pant: They would not like to say that they have agreed, but I can count upon their support.

Sir, then there was only one small tehsil which was transferred to Rajasthan from the Punjab, according to the announcement made on 16th January – the tehsil of Loharu — but the people of Loharu wanted it to be retained in the Punjab. So, again, with the consent of all concerned, the tehsil of Loharu is now to continue in the Punjab and it is not going to be transferred to Rajasthan.

5 The Bill proposed merger of Loharu and PEPSU with the Punjab

6 Member of Communist Party of India (C P.I.) and Lok Sabha member for Diamond Harbour (West Bengal).

7 The Bill proposed retention of the whole district of Bellary, including the area where the Tungabhadra project was located, in Mysore

The Tungabhadra Project consisted of building a masonry dam on the river Tungabhadra, a tributary of Krishna, near Mallapuram in Bellary district. The Project was undertaken jointly by Mysore, Madras and Hyderabad. The work on the project started in 1945 and first waters were released on 30 June 1953.

8. Independent member of Lok Sabha for Vishakhapatnam

Shri S.S. More :<sup>9</sup> May I know whether all these documents which record the consent of all parties concerned, will be circulated to Members of Parliament or at least to the members of the Select Committee?

Pandit G.B. Pant : Wherever any statement will be questioned, efforts will be made to remove the doubts of those who question the statements.

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Then, after the announcement had been made on the 16th of January, the matter was further examined and, as I said, the outstanding questions were settled in a very satisfactory way. Then, on the 16th of March, the Bill that was framed on the basis of the conclusions reached by the Government previously was placed on the table of the House and it was referred to all the State Legislatures under article 3 of the Constitution. Though under the law, only 12 out of the A and B States were affected by the Bill and they alone had the right of reference to them under article 3, we referred the Bill not only to those 12, but also to 5 other A and B States, all the Part C States and also to Tripura, Manipur and Kutch which had only electoral colleges.

The provisions contained in the Bill, so far as the reorganisation of States and territorial adjustments are concerned, affect only twelve of the States. As hon. Members are aware, the States of Assam, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Bihar are not touched by the provisions for the readjustment of boundaries. About Bengal and Bihar, as I stated previously, matters are under consideration and if any arrangement is voluntarily reached .....

Shri K.K. Basu: With the consent of the people, I suppose.

Pandit G.B. Pant : I hope so. Yes, 'people' being not tantamount to members of any particular party. I hope that when two States reach an agreement, then a Bill will have to be introduced concerning those States. So we have to confine ourselves to the twelve States.

Out of the twelve States which are affected by the Bill, eleven have communicated their views. The Bill was discussed in every one of these eleven States and they might be deemed to be in general agreement except in one particular case with regard to one particular matter. That does not, however, mean that every item in the Bill has been accepted indiscriminately by everyone. They have analysed and examined the provisions of the Bill, a number of amendments were moved in the Legislatures and about a hundred of them—the exact number being ninety-seven—were accepted. Of these ninety-seven, very few are of major importance. Three may be said to be so.

9. Member All India Congress Committee 1946-48; later joined Peasants' and Workers' Party and edited its weekly organ *Jansatta*, elected to Lok Sabha from Sholapur (Bombay) in 1952 and 1962.

The State of Hyderabad suggested by a narrow majority that Bombay and Maharashtra should form one State.

Shri Gadgil: The Congress Members did not vote; otherwise, the majority would have been considerable.

Pandit G.B. Pant : Perhaps, and if they had voted against, it may have been defeated!

There was another proposal too which was suggested in the Bombay Legislature: that the States of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Bombay should not have a common High Court, but that each of these units should have a separate High Court. I understand that the High Court in Bombay itself holds a different view. But whatever it be, that was one of the amendments suggested. Some other amendments were also proposed, suggesting an increase in the number of members of the legislatures for some of these States. Well, I think the more, the merrier. So, if a larger number is considered to be necessary, we will have occasion to set up a larger number of candidates and we will have an opportunity of making selection of good men for good jobs. But that has to be examined and then decisions will have to be taken.

Then there were certain proposals for the setting up of Upper Houses in some States, such as Andhra; about Maharashtra there were suggestions from certain quarters that Maharashtra State also should have an Upper House. But all these questions will have to be considered by the Joint Committee. The Bill makes provision not only for the readjustment of boundaries but also for other matters.

A number of new States are being set up. The State of Madhya Pradesh, which will perhaps be the biggest in area hereafter, is to be formed according to the provisions of this Bill. Telengana and Andhra will form another big State. The Legislatures both of Telengana and Andhra have suggested that the name of the new State might be Andhra Desa, instead of Andhra-Telengana.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Is it Andhra Desa or Andhra Pradesh?

Pandit G.B. Pant: Perhaps the hon. Member is right.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I would like to know from the Home Minister.

Pandit G.B. Pant: When he reminds me I should accept the correction.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I just wanted to know what exactly is the opinion given to the Home Minister and what he proposes to do.

Pandit G.B. Pant: It is either *Desh* or *Pradesh*, but it is not *Pardesh*!

Then the Bill makes also other proposals which are essential. The members of the existing legislatures belonging to the parts which are transferred to other States will now carry their membership to the States to which their constituencies are transferred. They will not cease to be members; so, that is a matter of gratification and also relief to those who would otherwise have lost their place in the legislatures. Some of these States such as Coorg, with a population of only two lakhs, have a disproportionate number of members in

the legislature. Perhaps, they have one for a thousand. But for the present we are not suggesting any curtailment in number. We have adopted the uniform rule that all existing members will continue to be members of the new States till the next general elections.

Then the new great State of Maharashtra will be set up with Vidarbha, Marathwada and the Marathi-speaking districts of Bombay State. It will be a big State—perhaps, second or third among the States of India. Then we will have the new State of Gujarat consisting of Saurashtra and other districts which form part of the Bombay State. We will have the big State of Mysore which will now almost be double, not only in area, but also perhaps in numbers. It will consist of Mysore and of the Kannada-speaking districts of Hyderabad and of Bombay State. So, that too will be a big State.

Travancore-Cochin will now assume the name of Kerala, and some of the taluks in the South over which there was considerable, acute and sharp controversy for a pretty long period will now be transferred to Tamilnad, while Malabar will be transferred from Madras to Kerala. I regret that we have got no legislature in Kerala today. The circumstances in which the step which involved the replacement of the legislature by the President's rule was taken, the hon. Members are acquainted with.<sup>10</sup> But we, nevertheless, have the full information about the views of the Travancore-Cochin legislature. The matter was discussed in the legislature of Travancore-Cochin for four days—from 21st to 24th November, 1955—and all questions concerning that State were fully discussed. So we have with us the views, opinions and suggestions of every one of the 12 States affected by this Bill.

There is provision also for the conduct of business. It is expected and it was our original programme that the new States may be set up on the 1st of October. However, the fulfilment of this wish will depend on the co-operation of the hon. Members of this House. I am grateful to them for the way they have dealt with this very controversial topic so far. It is to be regretted that there were some unfortunate incidents in the early stages but that phase is gone. I know that there is still anguish in some hearts. We wish we could soothe and cure them and remove any such feelings. We have throughout been anxious to do so and we have revised our decisions from time to time, but unfortunately we have not succeeded.

Then, for the conduct of business, it is necessary that these States should have their finances when they come into existence. So, the present Governors and Rajpramukhs will certify the expenditure that will be incurred by the new States during the first three months after their coming into existence. The Joint Committee might consider whether this period of three months is adequate or whether it can be extended to six months, so that the whole of the financial

10. President's rule in Travancore-Cochin was proclaimed on 23 March 1956. See also pp. 235–37.

year can be covered. There will be other points also which will have to be considered by the Joint Committee.

The Bill also makes provision for the allotment of funds and for the division of assets and liabilities. The general principle that has been followed is briefly and succinctly this: that so far as land and things such as dues on lands are concerned, the State to which the area is transferred will have the benefit of them without having to pay any compensation to anybody. So far as cash and other assets, loans and advances, debts due, etc. are concerned, these will have to be taken into account. The Bill also provides that the debts that are due to the State of Bombay or of Hyderabad will be taken over by the Centre so that the successor States may not be burdened with heavy liabilities at the very outset. The new State will have to bear the responsibility for these debts according to the general principle which has been laid down.

Provision has also been made for the protection of works, whether relating to irrigation, electricity or the like. There is also some safeguard for ensuring the proper appropriation and application of the funds provided for development purposes for the benefit of the areas for which they are intended. Other provisions have also been made so that the persons living in the territories which are being transferred to other areas may have the benefit of institutions such as medical, agriculture, veterinary colleges and the like. They should not be put to any difficulty immediately after the transfer of certain areas to other States. So far as care could be taken to see that the new States were not handicapped at the very outset, proper safeguards have been provided, and provision has been made in the Bill.

I might also say that the financial allotments to be made, whether out of the excise pool or the income-tax pool, to the new States have also been taken into consideration and the schedule gives the shares that will fall to the lot of the new States. That, in a way, gives in a nutshell the contents of this Bill.

I do not think that I should dwell in greater detail on the provisions of the Bill. The whole matter will go to the Joint Committee and all the suggestions that will be made there will be given full consideration, I hope, by the Committee, and the Government. An attempt has been made to have a strong and representative Committee for dealing with the proposals that are contained in the Bill. I do not know if it is necessary for me to remind hon. Members of the duty that each one of us owes to the country while we deal with matters which concern the respective States. The questions with which the Joint Committee will have to deal and those which will still come up for consideration in this House have in the past engendered heat and passion in some places, and in certain places certain unfortunate incidents also took place. But we all, I believe, have learnt a lesson. I still feel perplexed when I hear that some sort of demonstrations—or whatever other word you might like to use—are still being carried on in certain places by the name of satyagraha. Ours is a demo-

cratic country. We have been discussing these matters everywhere. There has been free scope for the expression of views. Every section of opinion has had full opportunities to help those who will have to decide these matters finally with their own assessment of the situation and their own comments or criticisms. So, we should stick to that method. Perhaps the greatest need of the hour is to concentrate on the restoration of good feeling and the restoration not only of calm and tranquillity, but of mutual trust and confidence. The feeling of neighbourly comradeship and mutual reliance on each other is what we need, so that wherever any improvements are to be made, thought might be given to them. But, let us then be prepared to face the future with faith and with hope.

The new Second Five Year Plan is to be launched shortly. We are hearing grumblings and murmurings from places which are not very far removed from us. I was reading in the papers about a certain manifesto in which the word *jehad* has been used. Our country has acquired a certain stature in the eyes of the world. So let us solve our problems in a useful and becoming manner, so that we might devote our energies to constructive channels and not only raise this great and ancient land to its full stature and the status which it deserves to occupy in the comity of nations, but also create such surroundings, foster such sentiments, develop such an atmosphere and environment in which every citizen may rise to his full height and everyone may feel the pride and the glory of being a citizen of this great country of India.

x                      x                      x                      x

There is a Bill which I have introduced, which has now been placed on the table of the House, with regard to which a motion of reference to a Joint Committee has been made. If there is any provision in it which this House does not like to approve, it can throw that out. If the Joint Committee thinks that certain clauses should not be adopted, the Joint Committee will take decisions to that effect. But, it is accepted by Shri S.S. More that certain provisions had to be made in the Constitution Amendment Bill.<sup>11</sup> They could not be made in this Bill. We have made such provisions in this Bill as could find a place here. We have made provisions, which are more or less a counterpart of these, in the other Bill.<sup>12</sup> We placed both of them on the table here on one and the same date. Immediately after this Bill has been referred to a Joint Committee, I propose to make a motion for reference of that Bill to a

11. S.S. More had submitted that since the present Constitution did not recognise any territory as Union territory, it was not right to make provision for such a territory in the Bill till the Constitution was amended accordingly.
12. The reference was to the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill. For details see pp. 169-73. The Bill was finally passed by the Lok Sabha on 6 September 1956.

Joint Committee. I do not know what other method can be feasible or possible. I do not see what I am expected to do in this matter.<sup>13</sup>

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Sir, the discussion on the motion which I had the privilege of placing before this House on Monday suggesting the reference of the States Reorganisation Bill to a Joint Committee has taken almost three full days and during the course of the debate more than fifty speeches were delivered. The points that have arisen as a result of the long debate do not call for any detailed examination at this stage. We are not taking any final decision and all that is necessary is to take note of the comments and suggestions that have been made and the views that have been expressed so that the members of the Joint Committee may have the benefit of the opinions expressed by hon. Members of this House.

The debate has, however, served a very useful purpose. I was glad to notice a distinct change in the atmosphere and the temper of the House and the Members. On the whole, the debate was conducted at a high level, with dignity and decorum but for one or two lapses. The matters under discussion had convulsed the country at one stage and had caused considerable commotion at certain places. Time, however, has had a mellowing effect. The atmosphere at the time we discussed the proposals which were mostly alike to those contained in this Bill in December last was murky. Several of the speakers struck notes of disappointments, pessimism, disquiet and even concern. The circumstances have agreeably changed to a certain extent.

We have heard the speeches delivered during the last three days. There was a manifest feeling of achievement and those who did not agree were actuated by a deep sense of sincerity and earnestness. But, on the whole, it can justifiably be claimed that the scheme embodied in the Bill had met with the general approval of this House. Most of the controversy centred round the city of Bombay. I do not propose to refer to that at least just now. The question has been discussed not only in this House but also outside threadbare in all possible aspects and all the pros and cons have been, I think, examined by the people who are interested in this vital problem. But if you leave aside that problem of Bombay which has become almost baffling and to which the solutions proposed so far have not appeared, at least to some of the hon. Members and to certain sections of our people, satisfactory and which still continues to loom large, we find that the proposals contained in the Bill have the general support of this House. It is a matter of gratification not only to me, but it

13. After this, Pant moved an amendment proposing that the Joint Committee should consist of 51, instead of 45, members—34 from the Lok Sabha and 17 from the Rajya Sabha. The amendment was passed by the House (Lok Sabha).

should be also to the hon. Members that the ticklish, intricate, delicate and complicated questions relating to the reorganisation of States and matters incidental and consequential thereto have been by and large satisfactorily settled. The controversies with regard to most of the matters have been set at rest.

I should like hon. Members to imagine for a moment the formidable character and the magnitude of the task in which we are all engaged. We are virtually redrawing the administrative map of India and it must be a heartening experience that, with the aid of the democratic process, the sagacity, the goodwill and the co-operation of hon. Members of this House and other public men, we have been able to reach conclusions which are embodied in this Bill and which have the blessings of the bulk of the people in the country.

Sir, sometimes it is said—and some of the hon. Members in the course of the discussion also made observations to this effect—that it would have been safer if we had adhered mechanically to the recommendations made by the States Reorganisation Commission. I want safety. I stand for it, but not at the cost of public weal and general good of the people. We have attached considerable weight to the recommendations of the Commission and, as the hon. Members may be remembering, we had made every effort to keep the country, to the extent it was possible, in a receptive mood on the eve of the publication of the report of the Commission. It was our endeavour that the recommendations might be received with sympathy and respect. But we could not abdicate our functions. While we were throughout persuading the people to be prepared for a cordial reception of the recommendations, we had to take account of public opinion and to see that the final decisions were made with the general approval of the people concerned and also of the community at large. So, certain changes had to be made. I would like those who were of the opinion that the proposals of the Commission should have been accepted as they were, to see whether the position today would have been better or worse if those recommendations had been bodily incorporated in the Bill.

First of all comes the Commission's proposal for a bilingual State for Bombay. I have expressed my views about it more than once. But our friends from Maharashtra not only did not like that proposal but they would not look at it even. They had almost an unbounded aversion for it. In the circumstances, to impose it on them would have been hardly wise, useful or helpful for that calm atmosphere which we need in the country for its development and growth. That had then to be discarded. We had also other proposals. But so far as this particular view is concerned, it was replaced by the suggestion for the formation of the State of Maharashtra with Vidarbha, the State of Gujarat and a Centrally-administered Bombay. So far as the formation of Maharashtra with Vidarbha is concerned, it was welcomed by our friends in Maharashtra and everybody in Maharashtra liked the change. Would it have been to our advantage if Vidarbha, as proposed by the Commission, had been kept separate? According to the recommendations of the Commission, Vidarbha was to be



formed as a separate State, not for any limited period but for an indefinite period of time. In the circumstances, if we had stuck to that recommendation, I think we would have taken a very serious risk.

Then, in place of that recommendation, we persuaded Vidarbha to join Marathwada and other districts of Maharashtra so that there may be a composite Maharashtra State. So far as that goes, there is no objection to such a State from any quarter and all have hailed it with satisfaction. Then, we suggested a composite State of Gujarat in which Saurashtra and other districts of Bombay State were included. That too has been on the whole received with satisfaction.

With regard to Bombay, I have little doubt that with the States of Maharashtra and Gujarat, the proposal for a Centrally-administered Bombay is less open to objection even to the friends from Maharashtra than the original bilingual State suggested by the Commission without Vidarbha. We would have been glad if we had succeeded in having a bigger bilingual State for Bombay and Maharashtra and Gujarat. That would have fulfilled the dreams of some of the visionaries. Besides, it would have brought the day of fruition and fulfilment nearer in other States also, but so far we have not succeeded. I had a scheme which was outlined by Shri S.S. More, one on which he has bestowed ample thought, and it would have been a matter of genuine pleasure to me if even this scheme had been accepted. But even that has not materialised. I do not want to say more about Bombay, but this much I can say. The formation of the States of Gujarat and Maharashtra, on the whole, is regarded as an improvement, congenial to the inner being of the two communities, over the original proposal that had emanated from the Commission. In the circumstances, we can count upon their generosity and indulgence so that the two States consisting of the fine elements of Indian nation may constructively and co-operatively act together to raise the stature of the common man not only in their respective States but in the whole of India as has been their practice and their custom in the past. So, the change made has been for the better.

Now, let us see what are the other changes we have made. The Commission had suggested that the residuary State of Hyderabad called Telengana should be kept separate from Andhra for five years and might be even for a longer period. That State of Andhra-Telengana has now been evolved and this united State will come into existence along with the others on the 1st October. I hope. This again has given satisfaction to the people of Andhra. They had been looking forward to this consummation of their aspiration and they are naturally happy that this has come.

While I am speaking of the unification of Telengana and Andhra, I might also refer to Bellary. With the inclusion of Telengana with Andhra, they can have no craving and no greed for a small additional bit of territory. So we do not feel any serious need for the transfer of Bellary. Bellary had been allotted to Mysore or Karnataka by the award of Misra and also by Wanchoo. That also

in a way had been agreed to by the leaders of Andhra at an earlier stage. Even the Commission had suggested the transfer of Bellary to ensure the implementation, maintenance and proper management of the Tungabhadra Project. That has been fully ensured and we have undertaken this responsibility on ourselves. So, this should give satisfaction to all concerned.

Himachal Pradesh has been kept separate. Hon. Members are aware that when the States Reorganisation Bill was circulated, there was a small paragraph in the explanatory note to the effect that ultimately Himachal Pradesh would be merged with Punjab. Even that has caused enough of discontent in Himachal. They cannot think of ultimate merger even with Punjab. That indicates the depth of their sentiments. In the circumstances, the change that we have made, keeping Himachal Pradesh separate for some time—I cannot say for how long—is certainly a step which satisfies the cravings and yearnings of the people of Himachal and must on that account be considered satisfactory.

The other change that we have made relates to the State of Punjab. Punjab and PEPSU will be a fine compact State now. We have decided to set up two regional Committees there, in accordance with the scheme which I had the privilege of placing on the table of the House some time ago.<sup>14</sup> The festering sore has been healed and Punjab which had vast potentialities and which deserved to occupy the foremost place in this country had suffered because of a cleavage between two important sections of people living in that land of heroes. When this cleavage is removed and healed, then we can look forward to an era of co-operative and sustained endeavour for the progress and advancement of this State of Punjab. I was told that some people would like to call these two regions “Eastern” and “Western” instead of “Punjabi-speaking” and “Hindi-speaking”. I think there will be no objection to that. An enquiry was also made whether applications could be presented in the courts in both languages. According to our Constitution, applications can be presented in any of the 14 languages in any court and in any office in our country. So, there need be no doubt on that score.

I have referred to the principal changes that we have made. We have so far kept Tripura separate from Assam. We have done so at the instance and on the request of the people of Assam as well as Tripura. But there has been a shift in opinion and I would not be surprised if both of them come to agree about the inclusion of Tripura in Assam. But, that will be for the Joint Committee to consider.

I have referred to the changes and I make bold to say that all that we have done has led to a large measure of agreement. The scheme that is embodied in the Bill has now the support of almost all people who are connected with most

14. In March 1956, the Akalis, who were demanding a Punjabi-speaking State, agreed to a merger of the Punjab and PEPSU with two regional standing committees, one for the Hindi-speaking area and another for the Punjabi-speaking area, to deal with special matters.

of these proposals. As I said, controversy has centered round the city of Bombay. That I am leaving aside. So far as the other items are concerned, there is general agreement and that should hearten us in going forward in the direction which we have chalked out for ourselves, so that the aim which we have may be achieved as speedily as may be possible.

In the course of the discussion on the Bill, references were made to certain other matters also. I think I have dealt with the question pertaining to the readjustment of boundaries. The Bengal-Bihar merger proposition was also the subject of some criticism.<sup>15</sup> I think all this powder and shot is being aimed at something which does not exist today. We do not yet know whether it will materialise or not.

Shri Nambiar: So, is the merger proposal given up already?

Pandit G.B. Pant: I do not know; you know more than I do. So far as I am concerned, I await the proposals of the States concerned. Whatever is done, so far as the merger or unification or union is concerned, it will not be possible to take any step in that direction except with the willing consent, the initiative and at the instance of the two States affected by it.

Shri N.B. Chowdhury:<sup>16</sup> Do "States" mean "Chief Ministers"?

Pandit G.B. Pant: The Chief Ministers are there to be guided by and to guide the people of their respective States.

Shri S.S. More: May I know whether a detailed procedure will be laid down to ascertain the will of the people?

Pandit G.B. Pant: The will of the people will be ascertained as we have been trying to ascertain it in other cases: and at least the conclusions that are reached will show that they are in accord with the will of the people.

An hon. Member: Question.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Why question? You have lack of faith in yourself. Otherwise, I do not see why one should not hope that ultimately what is evolved will be so evolved only with the full consent of the citizens of the two States. I mean, of course, the bulk of the people; a few stray individuals here and there have their own vagaries or idiosyncrasies, that is a different thing. But a large body of public opinion should be with the proposals. Otherwise, they cannot materialise in a fruitful way. I do not really understand why there is so much of excitement over this today when the whole thing is in a fluid state and ample thought is being given by everyone who is interested in the problem, so that the ultimate result may be really satisfactory and may conduce to the

15. Rishang Keishing, leader of Scheduled Tribes and Socialist member of Lok Sabha for Manipur, had remarked that the proposal for merger of Bengal and Bihar should be dropped, and that both the Chief Ministers should admit that it was a mistake on their part to have made such a proposal. In democracy, he had added, everything should be decided by the people.

16. Member of Communist Party of India (C.P.I.) and Lok Sabha member for Ghatal (West Bengal)

progress of both the States. But, that is a matter of habit. Sometimes, people cannot be prevented from fishing in waters if they see them troubled. So far as that matter goes, as I have said in the explanatory note, we will wait for the decision that may be reached by those States. Then a Bill will be introduced regarding those States. The Joint Committee has little to do with that matter today.

The zonal councils came in for some comments in the course of the discussion here during the last three days.<sup>17</sup> As hon. Members may be remembering, when the suggestion for zonal councils was made by the hon. Prime Minister in the course of his speech in December, it was hailed almost by all sections of the House as an effective antidote to the spirit of separatism, parochialism, and fanatical linguism which had been displayed during those days.<sup>18</sup> This proposition had almost unanimous support of the House. We had a meeting of the Chief Ministers of the States and it was, so far as I remember, also welcomed by all of them or almost all of them. A suggestion has been made by some Members that statutory powers should be given to the zonal councils. I think that such a step would be pernicious. The autonomy of the States should be maintained. While the zonal councils can enable the representatives of the States to meet together to discuss matters of common interest and in order to foster and facilitate the process of development, the final word should rest with the States. The zonal councils should not impinge upon the orbit of authority of the States.

Shri S.S. More : Is the scheme of your zonal councils identical with the council visualized in article 263?

Pandit G.B. Pant: I do not know. The scheme is before you now, in the States Reorganisation Bill. It is slightly different from that inasmuch as the zonal councils are of a purely advisory character. Under this clause, there may be occasions when the body so formed may also carry some authority. We examined that. We found there was that possibility.

Shri S.S. More: That Council is meant for advice.

Pandit G.B. Pant: If that difference does not exist, the two are alike. But, we have guarded against that possibility. I think there was need for that caution.

Some arguments were advanced, some with considerable vigour, about

17. The Bill provided for setting up five zonal councils—one for the north, one for the south, one for the east, one for the west and one for the centre. It also laid down that each zonal council shall consist of, among others, a Union Minister and Chief Ministers of each State.
18. Speaking during the debate on the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission in the Lok Sabha on 21 December 1955, Jawaharlal Nehru had observed: "whatever final decisions Parliament arrives at in regard to these States, we may still have what I would call zonal councils, that is, a group of three, four or five States as the case may be, each having a zonal council.... There may be in some places a common High Court, a common Governor, and so on, but common economy is more important."

the Centrally-administered areas. I would have been surprised if sitting here in Delhi, all had forgotten Delhi, the big city which has a historical place in our annals.<sup>19</sup> So we all are anxious that the administration of Delhi should be conducted in an efficient, smooth, satisfactory, progressive manner.

Shri Nambiar: Not democratic?

Pandit G.B. Pant: Also democratic as the entire administration of this country which is subject to the control, supervision, regulation and guidance of this House is conducted on democratic lines. But, I may also state that I am myself anxious that so far as it may be consistent with the objective which I have just stated, the people may be associated with the administration of local affairs of Delhi. By local affairs I do not mean exactly what is meant by the subjects which come within the scope of local self-government. So, I share that desire too. I hope that they and we all will keep the real objective before us in framing a satisfactory scheme. It is after all the welfare and well-being of the common man, the security of the State and the maintenance of the dignity of the Metropolis which all have to be taken into consideration in framing the scheme for Delhi. One does not want to restrict the authority of the people: ultimately they are the source of all authority and the sovereigns of the land.

Something was also said about other States which are to remain under direct Central care. What I have said would generally apply to them. Manipur also has been pressing for some sort of a mechanism in which the people would have some little say. That will be borne in mind when we deal with this question. The Centrally-administered areas are of various types and various grades and today they have the proud privilege of having Bombay in their list. So, they should not feel in any way depressed because they come within the category of Centrally-administered areas. I would any day like to be an inhabitant or a citizen of any area which could be deemed to be at par with Bombay, the greatest city in our country.

Shri C.K. Nair:<sup>20</sup> Because of the feeling that Bombay is not going to be there permanently.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I have not been able to follow. I think we may better talk outside, because the time is limited.

Shri Radha Raman: What I meant, Sir, was that I am afraid Bombay is going.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Going where? Going to Madras?

Shri Radha Raman: It is not going to be a Centrally-administered area.

19. Sucheta Kripalani, member of Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party and Lok Sabha member for New Delhi, and Radha Raman, Congress member of Lok Sabha for Delhi city, had opposed the proposal for making Delhi a Centrally-administered area. Sucheta Kripalani had observed that the population of Delhi had nearly doubled during the last few years with many educated people coming from West Punjab, so making it a Centrally-administered territory on the ground that the people of Delhi lacked political experience was not justified

20. Congress member of Lok Sabha for Delhi

Pandit G.B. Pant: Whether it goes to Maharashtra or whether it is to be Centrally administered, it will still be Bombay and we will have the privilege of regarding it as one of the most glorious cities in our country.

There was some suggestion made about the setting up of a boundary commission.<sup>21</sup> We would very much like the new States that are being carved, to settle their boundaries by agreement. But, wherever necessary, we have the power under the Constitution to appoint boundary commissions and there would not be difficulty in suitable cases in taking such a step.

Certain observations were made about High Courts too.<sup>22</sup> In the Bill, a different scale of salaries has been provided for certain States, such as Mysore and Travancore-Cochin. There, the judges are getting a lower salary than in other States. Rajasthan too comes within that category. Rajasthan wants the scale that is at present in vogue in other States to be extended to Rajasthan too. If the other two States express a similar desire, we will certainly be prepared to meet with their wishes. So, people have to persuade them to agree to this arrangement.

There is another matter concerning the High Courts, to which reference has been made. The Bill does not provide that every judge of the High Court will be re-employed in the new States. But there are judges of various types, and some of them who were serving in the old States before their merger were getting salaries amounting to a few hundreds of rupees only. The Chief Justice of India or some other judicial authority will perhaps like to be satisfied whether all those judges should be appointed on the new scales of salary, and whether they would all be sufficiently proficient and competent to discharge the duties of judges of the High Court. But otherwise, we have the intention of re-employing everyone, and also to take into account the service that has been rendered by them so far.

Some proposals have been made about Zonal States.<sup>23</sup> It has been suggested that all the States which are included in a zone should have one Governor, one Public Service Commission, and one High Court. I do not know, if such a uniform rule would be practicable, because in some cases, the States which would come within a particular zone would be too many. But wherever

21. Maniben Patel, member of Lok Sabha for Kaira, wanted a boundary commission to be set up to determine which areas should be included in Gujarat.

22. Thakurdas Bhargava, Congress member of Lok Sabha from Punjab, had observed that it was not just to give to the Judges of the High Courts of Jodhpur and Kerala a monthly salary of Rs. 3000, when the Judges of the PEPSU High Court, who were in no way less experienced and competent than the former, were being paid only Rs. 1500 per month.

23. While welcoming the provision for zonal councils in the Bill, Dr. S.N. Sinha, member of Lok Sabha for Saran, had said: "unless we go a step further and make it clear that these Zonal Councils, after 5 years, will be replaced by Zonal States, North, South, East, West and Central, my fear is that the Zonal Councils will merely be on paper and will not be able to produce results that are expected."

the States wish to have a common Governor or a common High Court or a common Public Service Commission, we shall be prepared to comply with their wishes. But the wishes of the States will have to be taken into account in taking final decisions with regard to these matters.

The Raja Sahib of Patna<sup>24</sup> referred to Seraikella and Kharswan. And in that connection, he said that the outbursts of violence should not come in the way of these States being transferred to Orissa. Even if there be no argument in support of the proposal, then the violence by itself may be regarded as an adequate argument in his view, because he has not refrained from inciting people for organising breaches of the law. And it is really regrettable that things should have taken such a tragic, unfortunate and unseemly turn in Orissa, as nobody could ever have expected in that quiet and peaceful state.

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I think at certain times, it is better to have the whole thing out than to secrete it. I think that it was a very sorry and sad chapter in Orissa. And whoever pleads that violence should not come in the way of anything being done, having seen all that has happened there, is taking a tremendous risk. No responsible citizen can disregard the evil course that the country is bound to take if violence leads to results which people want to achieve; if not in other ways, then through violence.

So far as other matters are concerned, such as those pertaining to services and so on, I do not think it is necessary for me to take more time of the House. The Bill will go to the Joint Committee, and it will be examined in all its aspects. As I have said, so far as the proposals contained in the Bill are concerned, except as regards the city of Bombay, there has been little criticism. Whatever has been said is more of a helpful and friendly sort, of co-operative effort than condemnation of what has appeared in the Bill. I hope that the Joint Committee will further improve it, and by the time we reach the journey's end, we shall have solved the problem to the satisfaction of every sensible citizen of India.

It is a great task. It is a difficult task, and it is a delicate task. It is necessary for all of us to join hands, so that the new map of India may fully indicate the wisdom, the sagacity, and the far-sightedness of the people of this land and of the hon. Members who have the privilege and the opportunity of sitting in this House today. I hope that when this map appears in a concrete shape in the

24. Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo; b.1912; Maharaja of Patna state (Orissa); formed Ganatantra Parishad in 1949 which was merged with Swatantra Party in 1962; member of Lok Sabha for Kalahandi-Bolangir 1952-57; member of Orissa Legislative Assembly for a number of years from 1957, leader of the Opposition 1957-59, Finance Minister 1959-61, Chief Minister 1967-70, and Deputy Chief Minister and Minister of Industries 1971-72; d. 1975.

course of the next few months, it will fulfil the hopes and dreams of all of us, and it will lead the country on to a position which it deserves to occupy and enable all of us to work together for the uplift and cultural, material, spiritual and economic advancement of every citizen living in this land.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>The States Reorganisation Bill has been the subject of close scrutiny and review for nearly twelve hours. Its provisions remain unsullied and unscathed. I am grateful to the hon. Members of the House for their helpful attitude and for their general support to the Bill. The main provisions of the Bill except with regard to the place of Bombay in the scheme of reorganisation have been virtually accepted by the House. We are only at present considering the motion for reference of the Bill to a Joint Select Committee; so no decisions are to be taken at this stage. We had the advantage of listening to many weighty speeches. All that has been said here will certainly be given due weight by the Joint Select Committee. Every suggestion that has been made will receive adequate consideration. The stage of decision will come later.

Sir, after a long time we had the opportunity of listening to Dr. Ambedkar.<sup>27</sup> He spoke with his usual intrepidity, eloquence and fervour, but signs of some sort of fatigue were there; he was handicapped by physical illness. It is a matter of regret to me and I felt really sad all the time he was speaking. His is a powerful mind and I can only wish that he may recover his health speedily.

In the course of his speech he happened to use an unfortunate word. I will not repeat it. It smacked of venom and I do not find it at all congenial to comment on it or to make any retort to it. That would not be necessary in any circumstances and it would be lacking in grace today.

Sir, he referred to the city of Bombay and also to the relation that it should bear to the State of Maharashtra.<sup>28</sup> He reminded us of patent facts of geography and also of some chapters of history, which are not known to many of us. But I have no serious quarrel with him because, whatever be his arguments, I do not find there is in substance much difference between him and several

25. After this, Pant's motion to refer the Bill to a Joint Committee of both the Houses was passed by the House (Lok Sabha).

26. What follows was spoken in the Rajya Sabha.

27. B.R. Ambedkar; b. 1891; leader of depressed classes and a signatory to the Poona Pact of 1932; member Bombay Legislative Council 1926–34; attended Round Table Conferences 1930–33; member Joint Parliamentary Committee 1932; member Viceroy's Executive Council 1942–46; chairman Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly; Union Law Minister 1947–51; d. 1956; works include *Gandhi and Jinnah* (1943) and *Thoughts on Linguistic States* (1955); awarded Bharat Ratna posthumously in 1990.

28. Ambedkar had said that Bombay should be made a City State and given the status of an 'A' class State, and added that it should be called Maharashtra City State.



others. He commented on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands being placed in the same category with Bombay.<sup>29</sup> That is, I think, something which is hardly of very material relevance. When you talk of quadrupeds you may speak of the elephant and also of the deer and also of the donkey, but they do not on that account become one, and no one can argue that, being placed in one category, they all become equal to each other. But, leaving that aside, in fact, the suggestion that Bombay should be Centrally-administered gives us ample latitude. There are many regions which come under this category of being Centrally-administered, such as Delhi, Himachal Pradesh etc. We should like, even if Bombay is to be Centrally-administered as under the scheme of the Bill, to have a mechanism which would suit Bombay. Bombay occupies a very important place in our country, not only in the matter of trade and commerce, but also of politics, social reconstruction and intellectual advancement. In all these matters, Bombay has guided the country. We all owe an immense debt to Bombay for the galaxy of leaders that Bombay has produced and presented for the benefit of our country. So there can be no desire on the part of anyone to do anything that would in any way affect the dignity or the nobility of Bombay. We would like, if at all, to advance it further.

So, while Bombay may be Centrally-administered, we hope we will have the benefit of the advice of the people interested in Bombay, and in its future constitution before we reach any final decisions ourselves. The apparatus for the administration of Bombay may be entirely different from what it may be for Andaman-Nicobars or other areas which are to be Centrally administered. Every place will be governed in a manner that may suit it. So the fact of its being included in the category of Centrally-administered areas need not cause any misgivings whatsoever. We would attach the utmost weight to the opinions of the people of Bombay in this regard. But Dr. Ambedkar, while raising his voice against the greater city of Bombay being bracketed with Andaman-Nicobars, said that it was his definite opinion that Bombay should be a City-State. Well, he took us to task for not having declared Bombay as such or for not having made a provision to that effect in the Bill.

As hon. Members may be remembering, our own proposal was for setting up a full State administration in Bombay. Bombay should, according to our original proposal, have been a Class A State enjoying full powers that any other state enjoyed in India, whether it be U.P., Bengal or Madras. Bombay would have had smaller numbers but other advantages and amenities, and the advance that Bombay has made especially in the industrial and commercial field, would fully compensate for the lack of numbers in Bombay. Even now

29. Condemning the proposal to make the city of Bombay a Centrally-administered territory, Ambedkar had remarked that "this city which was a premier city in the civic affairs has been brought down to the level of Andaman and Nicobar Islands.... Nobody in his wildest dreams could have conceived such a madness."

we would prefer Bombay being a State, if the people of Bombay wish it to be so, and we would like it to be a full-fledged State. There is no difficulty so far as that goes. If a change was made, it was to meet the wishes of those who preferred Bombay being administered from the Centre, than its being converted into an 'A' Class State. So, the suggestion that was made by us previously is still open and if Dr. Ambedkar can persuade others to accept it, I think, he will not find any difficulty in our falling in line with him. So, he has to make an effort and I wish him every success.

Sir, so far as the problem of Bombay is concerned, I do not really want to advance any arguments. When sentiments overpower one, nothing is gained by trying to reason. I am not referring to any particular school of thought, but when controversies become sharp, and when the issues are eclipsed by misty surroundings, then it becomes difficult to persuade one to one's own view, and argument, after all, is an instrument for approaching men's minds and intellect. When it fails to serve that purpose, it is no use blunting it by having recourse to it unnecessarily.

My own wish today is to concentrate on all those efforts which would restore good feeling, confidence and mutual regard among the leading sections of the Bombay community. Anything that would conduce to the growth of neighbourly comradeship would, in my eyes, carry greater weight than any formula we may try to devise. Formulae have to be devised, but whatever arrangement is made, it has to work on stable and sound foundations. For democratic government the essential condition of success is a proper atmosphere of trust and regard. It is only then that co-operative endeavour can be made in a fruitful way. No doors can ever be closed, but it is only through the bonds of goodwill that we can gather the strength which succeeds in opening the doors. So, to that we have, for the present, to direct all our energies.

Dr. Kunzru, one of the respected Members not only of this House but of the entire country, also referred to this subject. As I said, I do not propose to say more about Bombay than is absolutely necessary. But in the course of his speech, he said, the Government could not disown the responsibility for what has happened in Bombay. I think, he concedes that the Government made attempts to explore all possibilities that could lead to an agreed and satisfactory solution. If the solution suggested by the Government does not find unanimity and if on that score the Government cannot take responsibility, I am afraid that the Commission too cannot perhaps be absolved of its responsibility in the matter. The original recommendation that emanated from the Commission and for which I had expressed my appreciation was not acceptable to Maharashtra.<sup>30</sup>

**Shri H.N. Kunzru:** Is your decision acceptable to it?

30. The report of the States Reorganisation Commission had recommended Bombay State to be a bilingual State. See also p. 33, fn.16.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: To a greater extent than the original proposal. I have no doubt about it. So when a proposal is made—and one was made by the Commission—in the hope that it would be accepted, but it is not, then we should try to be wise at least after the event. Nothing is gained by denying the forces which were at work. But I do not in any way dispute the determination and the effort of the Commission to reach, in regard to all matters, a satisfactory agreement. If they are not accepted by anyone I am not going to blame the Commission because no Commission can possess divine powers or claim immunity from the possibility of mortal errors. Man remains mortal and error is a part of human nature. But still I venture to claim that the claim that was advanced by the Commission really created such irritation at the outset that anything that was done thereafter failed to receive that reasoned consideration which otherwise it would have. The atmosphere became cloudy and misty. In the circumstances, the light was overshadowed and to some extent eclipsed. So, if the Government was in any way responsible, it was also because of the difficult circumstances in which the Government had to function and for which it was not initially at least responsible. So, I think our position will not be misunderstood in that regard.

It was observed, Sir, in the course of the discussion by Dr. Kunzru, that the proceedings had been in a way overshadowed by the Congress.<sup>31</sup> I think that is what he indicated. Well, this complaint had been answered more than once. Hon. Members are aware that none of the members of the Commission belong to the Congress, so that the Congress organisation, or Congressmen as such, had no desire to arrogate to themselves the credit of framing proposals for the reorganisation of States. Otherwise, the Congress would have appointed a Congressman to it and at least one of the three would have been discovered somewhere to join the other two. The Congress refrained from doing so, and after the Report had been received, the Government published it and invited the opinion of all.

The Government has been doing its functions regularly. It had to. And the Congress had to discharge its duty, and so had other political organisations. It is not only political organisations but also others who were interested in the vital matters which come within the scope and purview of this Bill. The responsibility of the Congress is all the greater, and the Congress is also exposed to greater risks, for, whenever there is any real or imaginary mistake, all others club together against the Congress. So, we have seen that, even where the proposals have commended themselves to most of the people, there has

31. Kunzru had observed that "since the publication of the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, the impression has been created that it was not the Government but the Congress organisation that was dealing with the Report.... I think that the Government should have invited non-Congress individuals, organisations and institutions to place their views before the authorities. I am not aware that any such action was taken by the Government."

been an effort by the political parties to—I would not use the word ‘malign’ but—criticise the Congress. Well, that is their right. They are entitled to do so.

So, the Congress had to take care to see that, considering the responsibility that it owed to the country, it did not fail in applying its mind in consulting all schools of thought and in trying to arrive at the best decisions, which would be to the abiding advantage and benefit of the country. That is what the Congress did, and for that they cannot be blamed. So far as the Government is concerned, it has received as many as 60,000 memoranda, not only from Congressmen but from all political parties, not excluding any, even from parties whose names many do not know and I do not remember, and then many deputations were met and questions were discussed. Apart from that, the matter was discussed in every State Legislature in which parties which are opposed to the Congress were adequately or, if not adequately, then inadequately—the blame does not rest with us—represented. So, they had two rounds in the State Legislatures. In our own Parliament, in the two Houses, we had discussions for, I think, more than ten days in the other House, and for about a week here.

Shri B.C. Ghose: <sup>32</sup> But no decisions were taken.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: It was only after that, that the Government reached some tentative views which were published, and the decisions that were announced on the 16th January were in certain respects different from those which had been anticipated by others. So, I do not see how any occasion for any disregard of any opinion arises. We have tried our best to seek light from every quarter and to have the benefit of the views of everyone who happened to be interested in this matter. I think that any complaint on that score has to be ruled out. Our wish to have the co-operation of everyone, of every section of opinion in this country, is as strong today as it was on the day when this report was received. And we shall welcome all suggestions, and I hope that Joint Select Committee will succeed in improving the Bill.

In the course of his speech, Dr. Ambedkar expressed his apprehensions about the repetition of the kind of war between the South and North that took place in America more than 100 years ago.<sup>33</sup> He said the same thing might happen here. Well, I do not think that he should be oppressed by any such imaginary dangers. The integrity of our country is not a new-fangled notion. India has been one from time immemorial. We have our centres of pilgrimage on the terminal points on the map of India. People have thought of India as one unit and we have had one language. In spite of all the diversity and variety,

32. Independent member of Rajya Sabha for Bankura (West Bengal)

33. Ambedkar had observed that since in India every State Legislature did not have the same power and the Upper Chambers had no power at all so far as finance was concerned, the States in the northern area could override every proposition in which southern States were interested. And if that happened, he had added, “there may be civil war.... In the U.S. the origin of the civil war was this inequality of power.”

the fundamentals of our way of life are one. Wherever you go, you can distinguish an Indian from a non-Indian, whether here or outside. So, while we have to guard against disruptive tendencies, against linguistic fanaticism, against parochialism and other tendencies, which occasionally manifest themselves, we should not think that any parts of India will ever go to war with each other. Also, on political and social, fundamental basic matters, there is a great deal of homogeneity in the country. So, such dangers need not possess our minds or cause us any dismay today.

The suggestion which Dr. Ambedkar made that we should not have big but small States had been dealt with at some length by the States Reorganisation Commission in its Report. It is not necessary for me to repeat all that they said. Those who have had experience of administration, are presumably aware of the fact that for the economic advancement of the country, for the setting up of big irrigation works, industrial works, for having a satisfactory system of waterways and railways, and for having hydro-electric works and other things, the larger the unit, the better for the industrial, economic and cultural development of the areas concerned.

Dr. Ambedkar, in a way, indicated that the States Reorganisation Commission had formed small States in the South and big ones in the North. Well, we on our part have tried to make the States that were sufficiently big according to the recommendations of the Commission, even bigger. According to the recommendation of the Commission, Telengana was to remain separate from Andhra; but we have united the two. We used our best endeavours to persuade Mysore to have a bigger State and they agreed. Then our endeavours have been that the three States of Karnataka, Tamilnad and Travancore-Cochin may explore the possibilities of two or three of them uniting together so that they may have a bigger State than we have at present. So the desire is there. We want the States in the south to be big. If there are others who like States to be set up within boundaries which can be seen from one end to the other, we do not belong to that group. Our desire is to have as extensive an area within a State as may be feasible and acceptable to the people or peoples of the State or States concerned.

I do not quite understand how anybody can gain if Uttar Pradesh or Bihar is cut up. I, on my part, said once before and I repeat it, that if it is in the interest of the country that Uttar Pradesh should be cut to pieces Uttar Pradesh should agree to that arrangement. But we should not want only to upset an existing arrangement which has worked well, not for decades, but for a very long time. Similarly with regard to the other States, we have even encouraged all those who have wished to join together so as to form a bigger State, to do so. Our good wishes have always been with them. Dr. Ambedkar referred also to the fact that in the U.S.A. every State has the same quantum of representation. But that fact has no bearing on the situation, because even if you cut up a State into three, then too the question of representation is not affected. In any

case, if instead of having one U.P. you had three, then the number of representatives in the Lok Sabha would increase by 14 because for the first five you have only one and after that you give one for two so that if you separate them, there will be fifteen first fives, who would get one each. Therefore, so far as representation in the Lok Sabha is concerned.....

Shri H.C. Dasappa:<sup>34</sup> You mean Rajya Sabha?

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: Yes, Rajya Sabha, I beg your pardon. The State of Uttar Pradesh, if it were divided into two or three, would have fourteen more Members than it has under the present arrangement.

Dr. Ambedkar referred also to some other matters, but I do not think it is necessary for me to deal with them at length. He suggested that India should have two capitals, one in Delhi and the other in the South.<sup>35</sup> Well, I do not know, if we can have a full-fledged capital in the South, but in Hyderabad we have already got the *Rashtrapathi Nilayam*, the President's Bhavan, established so that the President may stay in Hyderabad for part of the year annually, and from there visit other places in the South. If anything more can be done at any time in that regard, I think that suggestion would be borne in mind.

I think, the changes that have been made in the recommendations of the Commission by the Government have made the entire scheme of reorganisation more acceptable to the people at large. The unification of Vidarbha with Maharashtra or Telengana with Andhra, the arrangement under which Himachal is to remain separate for some time, and similar other things, which the Government has suggested for the consideration of Parliament, have made the Bill, I think, more welcome to the States concerned. There is really no complaint at present except with regard to Bombay. While considering Bombay, let us not forget what we have achieved in such a big country, with so many States, when questions of such delicate character are involved. If we have succeeded in reaching solutions which are acceptable to the vast mass of people in this country, we have no reason to be depressed or dismayed, and I would humbly say that what we have accomplished can well be a source of congratulation and also a source of strength to hearten us in our labours for the advancement and integration of the country in future.

Certain other suggestions also were made which are of a minor character and which do not touch the question of reorganisation. I am thankful to Dr. Kunzru for certain matters which are more or less of a technical character. We

34. B. 1894; freedom fighter, Congressman of Mysore and advocate; founder-member Mysore State Congress; minister Mysore State 1947-52; member Rajya Sabha 1954-57; member Lok Sabha 1957-62; Union Minister for Railways 1963-64; d. 1964.

35. Ambedkar had suggested that in order to maintain the unity of India the northern States should be reduced to smaller areas so that the southern people "may not suffer heavy pressure." Another remedy, he had said, was that Hyderabad should be made the second capital of India.

may have to consider whether the expression "Part C States" can be deleted at this stage or whether we may retain it in this Bill making a provision in the Constitution Amendment Bill for the conversion of these C Class States into Centrally-administered territories.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, there are some other matters. It was said, for example, that an Upper House for Madhya Pradesh or for Andhra may not be formed now under the scheme of this Bill; that provision may not come within the scope of article 4 and so on. That matter too will receive consideration at the hands of the Joint Select Committee.

We have two Bills, one relating to the States reorganisation and the other to the amendment of the Constitution. They are in a way parts of one scheme and, though the Constitution Amendment Bill also contains some additional provisions with regard to other matters, there need not be any difficulty in adjusting matters.

Reference was also made to article 4 which enables Parliament to amend Schedules I and IV in order to give effect to the scheme of reorganisation and also to make consequential and incidental changes. The Joint Select Committee will bear that in mind and do what is necessary in that regard.

The question was put by someone here, I think, as to how long Himachal Pradesh is to remain separate. It is difficult to prescribe any definite period, but according to the view expressed in the Explanatory Note that was appended to the Bill when it was placed on the table of the House on the 16th of March, ultimately Himachal Pradesh must merge with Punjab. It cannot remain separate for ever. A small State of 10 lakhs cannot be an independent unit but, as observed by the Chairman of the Commission, it is necessary to give it some scope and elbow room for development at the present stage. When it is sufficiently developed and when the relations between Punjab and Himachal Pradesh become normal and cordial, as they ought to be, I think there will be no difficulty in making these two the integral parts of one administrative unit. In fact, economically and in many other ways, they are interdependent and they cannot long remain separate from each other.

Sir, a question was also put, I think by Mr. Ghose, about the merger of Bengal and Bihar.<sup>37</sup> Well, I made a statement about this proposal in the other House. We will be guided by the wishes of Bihar and Bengal in this respect.....

x

x

x

x

Sir, though it is not important and though I do not want to enter the ring so far as the discussion on the States Reorganisation Bill is concerned, I think

36. The reference was to the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill. See also pp 169-73

37. B.C. Ghose, a member of the Praja Socialist Party, had asked since the proposal for the amalgamation of Bengal and Bihar had been dropped when would the boundaries of West Bengal be demarcated and when would the territories of both the States be redistributed

there was one remark which Dr. Ambedkar made, which was somewhat astounding. He said, census figures deserved no consideration whatsoever. Well, if we ignore the census literature, I think, we will have hardly any foundations for statistics, or for any comparison, or for considering from time to time how many vital matters are progressing in the country. I do not want to dwell on the question further. I do not think that Dr. Ambedkar really meant what he said.

I understand that a suggestion was also made here that a Boundary Commission should be appointed for adjusting the boundaries.

Prof G. Ranga: Not one for the whole of India but for each separate area.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: Yes, a number of Commissions. Our own wish is that the States that are being formed may adjust their boundaries by mutual agreement themselves but if that is not possible, then Boundary Commissions can be appointed under the Constitution and no provision in the Bill is necessary.

There was a reference to a matter which seems to have attracted some attention here concerning the transfer of Baghelkhand to Uttar Pradesh. Well, I would leave the matter to be settled between Uttar Pradesh and Baghelkhand. No area can be transferred except with the consent of the people concerned, and no people should be coerced to live in a State in which they do not want to remain. So it is for the States concerned to examine the position and to see what would suit them best and the decision rests with them.

Shri V. Venkataramana:<sup>38</sup> What about Bellary and Parlakimedi?

Shri K. Suryanarayana:<sup>39</sup> Bellary would also be treated like that?

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: About Bellary we have got authoritative decisions which prove that on the whole Bellary should remain where it is.

Prof G. Ranga: But at the same time I would like to have this enlightenment.... I do not want this thing to be considered to have been settled once for all because it is only the governmental attitude or opinion.... I want this matter to be kept open so that if and when necessary a Boundary Commission may go into it.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: I think that it is settled for the day. Nothing is settled once for all. You say you do not want it to be settled once for all. Well, nothing can be settled once for all in this dynamic age. If the people concerned want to make a change almost by general agreement then they are free to do so. But so far as arbitration can help, the Wanchoo Award and the Misra Award bind our hands and we surrender to them. But we have undertaken it upon ourselves that the Tungabhadra Project will be implemented and will be maintained in a very satisfactory way and the people who are looking forward to the benefits that can flow from this project will have no reason to regret the decision that has been taken.

38. Member of Lok Sabha from Andhra.

39. Member of Krishikar Lok Party (K.L.P.) and Rajya Sabha member from Andhra.



Shri V Venkataramana: Why could not the people of Bellary and Parlakimedi be given the same opportunity as Baghelkhand?

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: I hope that hon. Members will now apply their minds to bigger things. The States that are being reorganised will have their hands full and they should not make matters complicated by diverting their attention to small minor things which will do damage to the bigger cause. They have got much to do and the sooner they apply themselves to the tasks that lie ahead, the better will it be.

Sir, I may have missed a number of points. It is difficult for one to carry all that is said in one's head, but I have tried to deal with at least the salient points that emerged out of the debate, and I hope that, while taking these steps for the reorganisation of the country, we will all remember that ultimately the salvation of our people and of every one of us lies not in this physical reorganisation alone but in that emotional concord, in that spiritual and cultural unity which will give strength to every one of us and which will raise the entire country to a status and a stature which it deserves.<sup>40</sup>

40. After this, the motion to refer the Bill to a Joint Committee of both the Houses was passed by the Rajya Sabha.



# REORGANISATION OF STATES

## III. Reactions in States



## ASSAM

### 1. To Bishnu Ram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
9 April 1955

You will remember that instructions had been issued from here to keep due vigilance to ward off any unpleasant incidents or hooliganism that might be inspired by interested elements during the visit of States Reorganisation Commission to the State. Reports have now reached here that tension had been prevailing there for some time and that some sections had been busy inflaming opinion against Bengalis to counteract the West Bengal claim for inclusion of Goalpara in their State. It is said that on 1st April goonda elements attacked Bengali shops, pulled down their signboards, and even some cases of stabbing occurred. The police also is alleged to have instigated these elements. On 2nd April, a procession of tribals and Muslims, led by the District Congress President, went round looting shops belonging to Bengalis and damaging their houses. Local authorities are inactive owing to the agitation having the support of Congressmen and M.L.As. I do not know how far the allegations are correct and have no doubt that you are acquainted with full facts and are dealing with the situation adequately. You might like to acquaint me with the situation.

1. File No.7(308)/55-PM, Sr.No.21B, Prime Minister's Office (henceforth PM O.) Only part of the letter is available.

B. 1890; participated in non-cooperation movement and went to jail several times during the freedom movement; president Assam P.C.C. 1931-39; member A I C C.; Minister of Finance, Revenue and Legislation in Assam 1946-50, and Chief Minister 1950-58, Governor of Tamil Nadu 1958-64; d. 1981.

## 2. To K. Madhavan Nair <sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
April 23, 1955

My dear Madhavan Nair,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of 19th April about the situation in Assam.<sup>3</sup> You might have seen the detailed statement I made in Lok Sabha yesterday regarding this. Atulya Babu<sup>4</sup> has also seen me on his return from Assam and given me his appreciation of the position. I have been writing to Medhi frequently and urging on him and the Congressmen the necessity of doing their utmost to assuage inflamed feelings and to restore the disturbed confidence. I am glad that he, his colleagues and other Congressmen are now exerting themselves in the matter. It is very distressing that in the beginning local Congressmen were either inert or actually assisting such demonstrations as in the prevailing atmosphere were bound to become ominous or explosive. Your visit to Assam has been opportune and will help in the restoration of normal feelings.

I am going to Naini Tal today and will be back on the 27th. When you return to Delhi on the 29th, we might discuss what further should be done.

Your sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. A.I.C.C. Papers (IInd instalment), File No.4302, N.M.M.L.

2. K. Madhavan Nair; a leading Congressman of Kerala; treasurer Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee; General Secretary A.I.C.C. 1955–58; elected to Rajya Sabha in 1956.

3. On his return from the tour of Assam along with the West Bengal P.C.C. President, Atulya Ghosh, Madhavan Nair, General Secretary of the A.I.C.C., wrote on 19 April to Pant that a "good deal of mischief has been done against the Bengalees by the Assamese, and there has been a lot of loss and damage to property...." He warned that unless the "Government and Congress leaders seriously tackle the problems, there is every likelihood of a recurrence of the trouble at the time the States Reorganisation Commission visits from the 4th to 16th May."

4. Atulya Ghosh; freedom fighter; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; member Bengal Provincial Congress Committee since 1925, and its secretary 1948–50, and president 1950–51; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952, 1957 and 1962; works include *Swadhintar Swarup* and *Noakhalite Gandhiji* (Bengali).

### 3. To Bishnu Ram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

April 23, 1955

My dear Medhi,

I send you copy of the statement that I made today in the Lok Sabha. Madhavan Nair has sent me his impressions of the situation and I am glad that all possible efforts are being made both by the administration and the Congressmen to restore a peaceful atmosphere so that those who had gone away out of fear may return now without any lingering doubts about their security and safety. I trust that these efforts will not be relaxed and due vigilance will be exercised when the States Reorganisation Commission visits Assam in early May. You will doubtless take all necessary precautions for preventing any repetition of recent events which have caused concern and quite a lot of distress.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

1. A I C C Papers (IInd instalment) File No. 4302, N M M L.

## PUNJAB

### 4. To Bhimsen Sachar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 9, 1956

My dear Sachar,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose copy of a letter from Brish Bhan.<sup>3</sup> I do not know if the construction of University building and other buildings at Chandigarh is going on. In view

1. File No 17/1/55-SR, Ministry of Home Affairs, N A I
2. B.1893; Congressman of Punjab; Finance Minister in the Coalition Government in undivided Punjab 1946-47, Chief Minister of Punjab 1949 and 1952-56, Governor of Orissa 1956-57, and Andhra Pradesh 1959-62, High Commissioner in Sri Lanka 1964-66, d 1978
3. Brish Bhag, the Chief Minister of PEPSU, had written: "I learn that the Punjab Government has started construction of University building and other buildings for important offices at Chandigarh. It is apparently inadvisable to incur any expenditure for such buildings at Chandigarh at this stage when the question regarding location of capital of certain offices is

of the recommendations made by the States Reorganisation Commission and also in view of the imperative need to allay fears of Patiala people on this score, I think it will be desirable to have this matter considered in detail before further constructions are actually taken in hand. Patiala, as you know, has a number of good buildings and some offices of the Punjab Government can suitably be located there. The question is, however, for mutual negotiations and settlement of these issues. I hope that as in Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal and Madhya Bharat, preparatory talks with regard to common problems arising out of integration are being held. You might like to have these issues discussed with PEPSU people.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

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still pending decision with the Government of India. He had added that "there is a strong feeling in PEPSU for making Patiala the capital of the new State."

Brish Bhan; Congress leader of PEPSU, imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; Deputy Chief Minister of PEPSU 1951-52, and became Chief Minister in 1955

## 5. To Amrit Kaur <sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

March 6/7th, 1956

My dear Rajkumariji,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of 2nd March, with which you have been good enough to enclose views regarding the set-up of Punjab.<sup>1</sup> The matter has been under consideration for the last many weeks and we have been trying to explore all possible avenues for finding a solution which would be satisfactory and acceptable to all including the dissentient groups. I am still looking forward to a more or less agreed arrangement and I hope it would be possible.

Yours sincerely

G.B. Pant

1. File No.11/1/55-SR, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A I.
2. B. 1889; secretary to Mahatma Gandhi for a number of years; Union Minister of Health 1947-57; member Rajya Sabha 1957-64; d 1964.
3. Amrit Kaur had suggested, among other things, that there should be a "composite legislature of the different regions constituting the Punjab State with a composite Ministry and a composite Secretariat."



## 6. To Pattabhi Sitaramayya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
7th March, 1956

My dear Dr. Pattabhi,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of 4th about Loharu.<sup>3</sup> You also mentioned this to me. We had accepted the recommendations of the S.R.C. in this matter. If, however, all people concerned desire a change the question can be considered.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

P.S. I have also just received your letter of 4th March about the nomenclature of the new State that is formed by the merger of Telengana and Andhra. I have made a note of your suggestion but both have agreed to have a different name.<sup>4</sup>

1 File No. 4/1/55 SR, Ministry of Home Affairs, N A I

2 B 1880, a physician of Machilipatnam in Andhra Pradesh, member A I C C 1916-52 member Congress Working Committee 1929-31, 1934-36, 1938-46 and 1948, president All India States' People's Conference 1936, official candidate for Congress presidentship in 1939 but defeated by Subhas Bose, Congress President 1948, Governor of Madhya Pradesh 1952-57, d. 1959

3 Sitaramayya, the Governor of Madhya Pradesh, in his letter of 4 March, had requested Pant to look into the demand of the people of Loharu (Hissar district) that Loharu be attached to the Punjab and not to Rajasthan. He had added that the Nawab of Loharu also wanted this.

4 In another letter of the same date, Sitaramayya had suggested that the new Andhra State be called Andhra Pradesh "just as there is Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh"

## 7. To Mohanlal Saksena<sup>1</sup>

Naini Tal  
25th June, 1956

My dear Mohanlal,

I have just received your letter of 23rd June. I came here that very afternoon. After a short stay I intend to go back on the 27th.

I am grateful to you for your note on 'Drive for economy and efficiency'.

1. Mohanlal Saksena Papers, N M M L.

I intend to go through it with due care. I appreciate the attention you have been giving to public questions of a complicated and intricate nature from time to time. The results might not have appeared as commensurate but they have served a useful purpose and, in any case, you have the satisfaction of having done the best you could with regard to those matters. I have not forgotten what I have written to you about the Zonal Councils. Owing to my being occupied with other pressing affairs, I have not been able to find opportunity to do so but when we meet next, I hope, you will kindly let me know more fully what you have briefly indicated previously.

As you know, I had occasion to visit Punjab recently. I have also been in touch with Congressmen, Ministers and also others. The Maha Punjab and Jan Sangh people have created a lot of senseless trouble and noise there. What is particularly regrettable is the free recourse to violent methods by them and their sympathisers. Besides doing things in a very provocative and objectionable way, they have been circulating stories which have hardly any substance. That is my impression. I do not know if the particular gentlemen who saw you had seen things for themselves or they have reported to you what they have learnt from others. However, I am passing on the relevant extracts from your letter to the Chief Minister.<sup>2</sup>

I highly appreciate the kind words you have said about me. You have always tried to render public service in an earnest and devoted manner. Your sincerity has always been transparent and you have not allowed any personal considerations to come in the way of the performance of your duty. I do not see why you wish to be relieved from the position you are occupying today. I would be delighted if you had a wider field of activity but even as it is you are doing whatever is feasible in your own quiet and unostentatious way.

Please give my love to children and remember me to your wife.

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

## ANDHRA AND KARNATAKA

### 8. To Sivamurthy Swamy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

24 November, 1955

My dear Sivamurthy Swamy,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of 17th November.<sup>3</sup> Decisions with respect to the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission are being taken after considering all the relevant factors involved and only a dispassionate and objective approach can facilitate their implementation so that harmony and concord prevail throughout the country. A democratic approach rules out considerations of satyagraha or resort to similar other means. I trust that as a responsible public man you will give further thought to the matter and refrain from taking any action which will not be in the overall interests of the country.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

File No. 54/2/55 SR, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I

Independent member of Lok Sabha for Khushtagi (Hyderabad) and Director of Akhanda Karnataka Rajya Nirmana Parishad.

In his letter of 17 November, Sivamurthy Swamy had written: "I shall have to consider to start 'individual satyagraha' in the Kannada parts of Andhra State if no assurance is forthcoming from your Government on or before 5th December 1955 to appoint a boundary commission to include Karnatak areas of Andhra State in the proposed Karnatak State "

## 9. To Ramakrishna Rao<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

7th March 1956

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of 5th March.

Jawaharlalji had as desired by several friends made an announcement about the union of Telengana with Andhra. That will relieve you of the worry which is associated with suspense. As to the resolution on S.R.C. report which was postponed last time you can follow any line you like.<sup>3</sup> The Bill will, I hope, be shortly out but still it cannot be in your hands before the 12th of March. So if you prefer to put off the discussion further so that it may be taken up along with the consideration of the Bill it can stand over for a week or two. If, on the other hand, you feel that the resolution can now be formally adopted without any trouble or difficulty you may have the resolution taken up any time you like without waiting for the Bill. There is hardly any room for controversy so far as the real issue is concerned. It has now been finally decided and authoritatively announced. So you can determine your course as you consider best in consultation with other colleagues.

You might be remembering the paper containing agreed proposals that was handed to me when we last had a talk on this subject. I handed it over to our constitutional experts almost immediately. They have examined the proposals. So far as the Andhra people are concerned there is no difficulty. They have already given their consent and assurance, but the exact form and method have to be finalised in consultation with Chenna Reddy<sup>4</sup> and yourself whenever convenient to you both. We can meet here to give matters a final shape.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

1. File No.14/1/55-SR, Ministry of Home Affairs, N A I
2. B.1899; Congress leader from Telengana; imprisoned during Quit India movement, Chief Minister of Hyderabad 1952-56, Governor of Kerala 1956-60, and of U P 1960-62, d 1967
3. Ramakrishna Rao, in his letter of 5 March, had written that if the States Reorganisation Bill was not moved before 12 March, the consideration of the resolution regarding the reorganisation of States moved in the State Assembly would have to be resumed and that the resolution would also be put to vote. The consideration of the resolution, he had added, had been postponed on his request after some members of the Assembly had expressed their opinions.
4. B.1919; physician and politician; joint secretary Andhra Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee 1949; member Provisional Parliament 1950-51; member Hyderabad Legislative Assembly 1951-56, and Minister of Agriculture 1952; member Andhra Pradesh Legislative

## VINDHYA PRADESH

### 10. To K. Santhanam<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

November 30, 1955

My dear Santhanam,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of 25th November about the unseemly incidents that occurred in Rewa. I share your sense of distress that such things should have taken place in Rewa and the people should have lost their balance to the extent they have done.<sup>3</sup> You were correct in persuading the Speaker to continue the session of the Assembly and to face the situation. It is good that everything is now normal and that you have taken due precautions to see that such things do not disturb the tranquillity and calm of an otherwise peaceful place like Rewa.

Trust you are well.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

Assembly 1956-67, Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Metals 1967-68, Governor of U P 1974-77, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh 1978-80 and 1989-90, Governor of Punjab 1982, Rajasthan 1992-93 and Tamil Nadu 1993-96, d 1996

1 K. Santhanam Papers, File No 2, N A 1

2 B.1895, lawyer of Madras who joined the non-cooperation movement in 1920, arrested with Jawaharlal Nehru at Nabha in 1923, joint editor *The Hindustan Times* 1943-48, Minister of State for Railways and Transport 1948-52; Lieutenant-Governor Vindhya Pradesh 1952-56; d 1980

3. On the publication of the States Reorganisation Commission Report there was an agitation in Rewa against the proposal of merger of Vindhya Pradesh with Madhya Pradesh. On 23 November, about 25 men led by Socialist M.L.A.s made forcible entry in the Assembly Hall and disrupted the sitting of the Assembly. In the city also a *hartal* was organized by the Vindhya Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee

## 11. To K. Santhanam<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 8, 1955

My dear Santhanam,

I thank you for your letter of 2nd December. It is reassuring to know that you have taken all necessary precautions to see that no untoward occurrence takes place again.<sup>2</sup> I hope the tempers and emotions will now be subdued and the atmosphere will be better. I have kept in mind your request about your being relieved by the end of this month. I am grateful that despite great personal inconvenience and tremendous strain you were good enough to agree to my suggestion to continue in office till the end of December. Although I am committed to the arrangement I cannot resist enquiring whether it would still be possible for you without much inconvenience to continue there till the end of March 1956 by which we hope the decision with regard to S.R.C. will have been taken and necessary Bill introduced. In case it does not suit you at all I will not press the request further and act according to your wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

K. Santhanam Papers, File No.2, N.A.I.

In his letter of 2 December, Santhanam had written that there was a recrudescence of trouble on 30 November when some students, agitating against the proposal for the merger of Vindhya Pradesh, tried to enter certain areas near the State Assembly and when prevented from doing so stoned the police. But he had assured Pant that all necessary precautions had been taken and hoped that there would be no further trouble.

12. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

March 4, 1956

My dear Dhebarbhai,<sup>2</sup>

You may have received a letter from Capt. Awadhesh Pratap Singh.<sup>3</sup> I enclose a copy of it. Many people have also spoken to me regarding this matter and I feel embarrassed to say anything. They have expressed strong and genuine desire not to remain in Madhya Pradesh which also does not appear to be very enthusiastic about this merger, considering it a burden. The matter may have also come before you. You might like to give further thought to it if convenient.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

A I C.C. Papers (IInd instalment), File No. 4302, N M M.L.

B. 1905, a lawyer from Rajkot, participated in the States' people's movement and was imprisoned thrice between 1936-39; Chief Minister of Saurashtra 1948-54, president Indian National Congress 1955-59; member Lok Sabha 1962-63, chairman Khadi and Village Industries Commission for many years; d. 1977

Awadhesh Pratap Singh, member of Rajya Sabha from Vindhya Pradesh, in his letter to Dhebar, had written that though the Amritsar Congress had preferred larger units to smaller units, that principle was disadvantageous to the people of Vindhya Pradesh "as they desired its retention but it is advantageous to their alternative opinion that V P be integrated with U.P."

Awadhesh Pratap Singh; b. 1888; served in Indian army for many years before joining the Congress in 1921; president Baghelkhand District Congress Committee 1932-35; president Mahakoshal P.C.C. 1937; member Constituent Assembly 1946-50; Prime Minister Rewa state 1948; Chief Minister Vindhya Pradesh 1948-49; member Rajya Sabha 1954-60; d.1967.

## MYSORE

### 13. To K. Hanumanthaiya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

17th December 1955

My dear Hanumanthaiya,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of 22nd November about the appointment of a Boundary Commission to go into the question of the rectification of the borders of the Madras, Andhra and Mysore States. I have given thought to the matter in the light of the observations made by you.<sup>3</sup> As you know, the entire question of reorganisation of States is under review at present and in some cases acrimonious controversies have developed round it. It will take some time before final decisions on the proposals of the States Reorganisation Commission are reached. Basic data regarding village-wise language statistics are, I am told, still being collected and it will perhaps be difficult to finally settle the issues relating to demarcation of boundaries till we have got them. On the whole I hope you will agree that it will be advisable in the existing circumstances to wait till we have a complete picture of the shape in which these States are to be merged finally. It may then be possible for minor adjustments to be made by mutual agreement between the new units. If necessary we can discuss the matter when we meet next.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

1. File No 54/2/55-SR, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I
2. B.1908; freedom fighter; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; member Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament; Chief Minister of Mysore 1952-56; member Lok Sabha 1962-77; member and later chairman of Administrative Reforms Commission 1967-70; deputy leader of Congress party in Parliament 1967-68; member Congress Working Committee 1966-70; Union Minister of Law and Social Welfare 1970-71, and Railways 1971-72; d. 1980.
3. In his letter of 22 November, K.Hanumanthaiya, the Chief Minister of Mysore, had written that the demand of the people of Adoni Taluk that the three taluks of Bellary, Siruguppa and Hospet, which were really bilingual areas, be transferred to Mysore State needed to be considered by a Boundary Commission. The delay in the constitution of a Boundary Commission, he had added, had affected Mysore adversely.



#### 14. To K. Hanumanthaiya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 5/6, 1956

My dear Hanumanthaiya,

I thank you for your letter of February 21 with which you have been good enough to enclose a copy of the Rajpramukh's address to the Mysore Legislature.<sup>2</sup> I have gone through the address and have also seen the speeches that were delivered there. If we could have bilingual States or larger units of administration it would be for the good. You have never been in favour of linguism and have advocated bi- or multi-lingual States. The matter, however, depends entirely on the people and on their free will and choice. If by common consent such larger States can be carved, they will be welcome as being beneficial to the larger interests of the country

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No 16 1 55 SR, Ministry of Home Affairs, N A I
2. Referring to the Rajpramukh's address to the Mysore legislature, Hanumanthaiya, the Chief Minister of Mysore, had written "You will find therein reference to the proposed formation of a bigger State in the South. If you can kindly communicate your reaction, it would greatly help me in shaping opinion here."

#### BENGAL AND BIHAR

#### 15. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 25, 1956

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have seen copy of Panikkar's<sup>2</sup> letter of 3rd March to you. He seems to have no objection so far as zonal councils go. It is not clear what he actually means

1. J.N.Papers, File No. 430, p.23, N.M.M.L.
2. K.M. Panikkar; b.1895; historian and diplomat; served in the Princely states, ambassador to China 1948-52, Egypt 1952-53 and France 1956-59, member of the States Reorganisation Commission; d.1963

by zonal States. Perhaps he refers to States of big size. No proposals are at present before us except that of Bengal and Bihar merger.<sup>3</sup> All do not agree with the views expressed by Panikkar. There are obvious advantages in the amalgamation of Bengal and Bihar and the position of Centre will not be weakened by such a consummation, which is far from certain yet.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

- 3 A joint statement issued by the Chief Ministers of Bihar and Bengal on 23 January 1956 proposed the merger of Bihar and Bengal. See also p 59, fn 4

## **16. To Mohanlal Saksena <sup>1</sup>**

Nainital  
May 6/8, 1956

My dear Mohanlal,

I thank you for your letter of 4th May. I came here on Friday and expect to be back again in Delhi this evening. I am sorry that the proposal for the union of Bengal and Bihar has not materialised. The efforts made have proved infructuous. So we have to rely on the Zonal Councils for cooperative endeavour in matters of common interest of these two States. I should feel greatly relieved if the collapse of the merger proposal does not tend to revive suppressed feelings of rivalry and bitterness between the two States.

I have taken note of your alternative proposals about Bombay. This is a tough and ticklish question and the attempts made to evolve an agreed solution have not fully succeeded so far. I have expressed my views more than once and shall be glad to discuss the matter with you when we meet next.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. Mohanlal Saksena Papers, N.M.M.L.

## BOMBAY

17. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

17th February 1956

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Your letter of 15th February about Shankarrao Deo's suggestions. I agree that to think of any enquiry at this stage is not only fruitless but may be positively harmful.<sup>2</sup> It will have no effect other than that of exciting emotions which seem to have settled down and to raise acrimonious controversies all over again. Apart from the usual allegations against the police, grave charges not only of looting, arson, stabbing but also of indecent behaviour have been made, and if any enquiry is held, evidence will inevitably be produced in support of the charges which can only lead to bad blood and progressive deterioration in the situation from the moment the enquiry starts. It is bound to create further complications. A detached enquiry in the present context will also be difficult and I do not know whether unattached evidence can easily be found. In the present temper real facts can hardly come before any non-official enquiry committee. As you have repeatedly emphasised, the need of the moment is to restore better relations and all have to work towards that end. From every angle, therefore, the suggestion of an enquiry whether official or non-official seems to be ruled out.

Shankarrao's suggestion about having a common Governor, common High Court and common Public Service Commission for Gujarat, Maharashtra and Bombay can be readily accepted. In fact, that is on the lines of our draft. If any agreed solution can be found by the representatives of all these areas of the entire problem or even for ensuring common economic development and planning we would be thankful to them. So we would wish Shankarrao every success in the efforts he proposes to make in this direction. Initiative for reopening the matter even for finding agreed solutions should, however, be entirely his own at this stage as any indication in this regard from here would have a disturbing effect and may even be interpreted in some quarters as exercise of undue pressure. If anything positive emerges from such efforts you will, I imagine, really be glad to meet Shankarrao but I doubt if anything concrete

1 File No. 7/M55-SR, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A. I

2 Nehru, in his letter of 15 February, had written that as regards Shankarrao's suggestion that a "non-official enquiry committee should be appointed for Bombay", he thought that it would be far from helpful and that "it would keep alive passions and hatreds."

will be achieved by such a meeting just now. All energies have at present to be directed to the removal of the existing distrust and suspicion so that mutual confidence and good feeling may be restored.

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

## 18. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
April 3, 1956

My dear Deshmukh,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of March 31 about the report on Bombay disturbances.<sup>3</sup> As I wanted to pass it on to you without delay I had time only to glance through it hurriedly before I sent it to you. I expect to go through it in greater detail now. We have already had occasion to explain the reasons which have weighed with us in not instituting a judicial enquiry.<sup>4</sup> I am sorry that we have not been able to convince you but I need not take your time by repeating what has already been said. I have not yet seen the papers that you have sent to the Prime Minister but if necessary I shall look into them.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. B. 1896; joined I.C.S. in 1918; Governor of Reserve Bank of India 1943-49; president Indian Statistical Institute Calcutta 1945-64; member Planning Commission 1950, Union Minister of Finance 1950-56; chairman University Grants Commission 1956-60; Vice-Chancellor Delhi University 1962-67; d.1982.
3. Commenting on Morarji Desai's report on the disturbances in Bombay, Deshmukh, in his letter of 31 March, had written: "I am sure this report is not accepted by the Maharashtra members of the Bombay Cabinet as correct or in proper perspective. If they are partisans, so is Shri Morarji Desai who continues as Chief Minister, although he has entirely identified himself with the anti-Maharashtrian view. In my opinion you are recognising a dangerous precedent in regard to the use of force by police."
4. In the same letter Deshmukh had written: "The Prime Minister and you have decided not to institute an enquiry for fear of exacerbating feelings. In my opinion the lack of an enquiry will aggravate the tension as the view is generally held by the Maharashtrians that the police used excessive force."

## 19. To P.K. Deshmukh

New Delhi  
8th July, 1956

My dear Dr. Deshmukh,<sup>2</sup>

I was glad to receive your letter of 25th June along with a copy of your letter to Jawaharlalji of even date enclosed therewith.

As you are no doubt aware we all have throughout shown our preference for a bilingual State. The proposal made by the Commission in this regard failed for reasons which are well-known to you. In view of the opposition to the Commission's scheme we dropped it and accepted certain alternative suggestions. These too were not free from defects and Shri Shankarrao Deo made a serious attempt to secure the consent of the leaders of Maharashtra and Gujarat for a bigger bilingual State embracing the entire Maharashtra and Gujarat. Unfortunately even his earnest endeavours proved abortive and we had to make the provision regarding Maharashtra, Gujarat and Bombay in the form in which it appears in the Bill. I would really be happy if even now such a bilingual State could be established. This consummation can, however, be reached only with the consent of the representatives of the areas concerned. You say that you have, after pleading for a long time with Shri Hirey,<sup>3</sup> Shri Kunte<sup>4</sup> and Shri Shankarrao Deo, been able to secure their consent. Shri Shankarrao Deo has always been in its favour and as I have already mentioned he took the initiative in the matter and laboured hard for its realisation. Yet he did not succeed. About Shri Hirey and Shri Kunte, it appears from what you have written that they have little enthusiasm for this proposal and are extremely reluctant to sponsor it. I fully appreciate their position. In view of the experience that we all have had in dealing with these matters so far and the various difficulties which have followed what looked like solutions reached with the consent of the parties concerned, one would have to observe great caution in initiating a new move. I wonder if the time is ripe or opportune for it. Passions have not yet cooled down and the happy relations of the old days have not been even partially restored between the two communities. Such a suggestion was not

1 A.I.C.C. Papers (Hind instalment), File No 4299, N.M.M.L.

2 Minister for Local Self-Government, Madhya Pradesh

3 B.S. Hirey, b 1905, lawyer and freedom fighter; elected to Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1937 and to Central Legislative Assembly in 1945, president Maharashtra P.C.C. 1948-52, Minister for Revenue and Agriculture Bombay 1952-56; d. 1961

4 D.K. Kunte, participated in civil disobedience movement and courted arrest several times, member Bombay Legislative Assembly 1937-40 and 1946-52, and its Speaker 1952-56, member Lok Sabha 1967-70

made in the course of our discussions in the Joint Select Committee by any single member. In the circumstances I do not see suitable atmosphere for ensuring the minimum conditions necessary for securing what you and I both equally desire. But my appraisal of the situation may not be correct and I will be sorry if you slacken your efforts on account of my pessimism. I will continue to hope that even if the objective which you have in view is not reached today it will come in due course.

My best wishes are with you.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

## RAJASTHAN

### 20. To Haribhau Upadhyaya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

3rd May, 1956

My dear Haribhauji,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of 24th April. If you or the members of the negotiating committee choose to see me I shall certainly be glad to meet you. I am not sure, however, about the advisability of our holding any formal talks between us. You have already spoken to me about this matter more than once. I have indicated my views to you. I do not think that the Rajasthan people will agree to the transfer of their capital from Jaipur to Ajmer but as has already been arranged I hope that some offices will be located in Ajmer and a divisional headquarters will also be probably fixed up there.<sup>3</sup> I hope to be here between the 7th and 13th of this month.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

1. Haribhau Upadhyaya Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. B.1893; Congressman of Gwalior and freedom fighter, went to jail during salt satyagraha; played an important role in All India States' People's Conference; organised khadi movement in Rajasthan and worked for rural development; Chief Minister of Ajmer-Merwar state 1952-56; Minister of Education in Rajasthan 1957-67; awarded Padma Vibhushan; d.1972; works include *Bhagwat Dharma*.
3. In a letter dated 22 April, Haribhau Upadhyaya, the Chief Minister of Ajmer, had informed Pant that the members of the Ajmer Legislative Assembly belonging to all the parties had,

## 21. To Haribhau Upadhyaya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
12/14th May 1956

My dear Haribhauji,

I enclose herewith copy of a letter received by my Private Secretary from Shri Sukhadia.<sup>2</sup> It speaks for itself and no further comments are called for. As I have written to Shri Sukhadia I hope satisfactory arrangements which will serve to maintain the position of Ajmer will be made with the consent of all concerned.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

at a meeting held on 21 April, expressed their displeasure on the decision of the Central Government to make Jaipur instead of Ajmer the capital of Rajasthan. He had also expressed the apprehension that the merger of Ajmer state with Rajasthan might not become a headache to the Central and Rajasthan Governments.

1. Haribhau Upadhyaya Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Mohanlal Sukhadia, the Chief Minister of Rajasthan, had written to Pant's Private Secretary on 9 May: "As regards the question of the location of the capital, I do not think it is advisable or feasible to re-open the question now in view of the extreme complexity of the matter. As soon as the Government has decided as to which of its offices should be located at Ajmer, I shall write to Pantji and seek his advice."

Mohanlal Sukhadia; b.1916; Congressman from Rajasthan; interned during Quit India movement; Minister in Rajasthan for Civil Supplies, Agriculture and Irrigation 1951-52, for Revenue and Famine Relief 1952-54, and Chief Minister 1955-70, elected to Lok Sabha in 1980; d.1982.

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# **REORGANISATION OF STATES**

## **IV. The States Reorganisation Bill-II**



## 1. On the States Reorganisation Bill as Reported by the Joint Committee<sup>1</sup>

So far as this motion that I have placed before this House is concerned, the feeling that is uppermost in my mind is one of genuine gratitude to the hon. Members of the Joint Committee.<sup>2</sup> I do not know if it will be presumptuous on my part to say that I owe it to them, to express my appreciation of the very fine and patriotic attitude that was shown by every member of the Committee during its deliberations. We had very long sittings and the problems with which the Committee was concerned were of a ticklish character. But they were all handled in an objective manner and throughout the proceedings were characterised by a spirit of understanding, accommodation and a desire to look at things from the wider and larger point of view. Continuously there was an effort to adjust the regional demands with the demands of the country and the supreme necessity of preserving and promoting its unity. The members of the Committee throughout looked upon these problems not from a provincial or parochial angle but as citizens of this great country who owed, above all, a duty to the preservation of the unity and integrity of India. Everything else was secondary. So, the deliberations of this Committee were conducted in a manner which might well serve as a model for others. I am deeply indebted to the members of the Committee. I hope that the controversy that had centred round the issues which have arisen out of the States Reorganisation Commission's report will be viewed by everyone in a similar manner and from a similar angle.

So far as the report is concerned, it marks one more stage in our onward journey. It will be received by the hon. Members of this House with, I hope, a sense of relief, if not of ratification. The report was published about 10 months ago. Since then it had been the subject of discussion and the nature of the controversy has covered a wide range. Nevertheless, in spite of the formidable difficulties which we had to face and which were, perhaps to some extent, inevitable in a matter of this kind, they have been, to a certain extent, got over. The roads were rough, stony and rocky; but, still, we have been able to march ahead and the stage that we have now reached will be one more milestone on the journey. This will, I hope, assume final shape and be embodied in the statute book before long.

1. Speech in Lok Sabha, 26 and 31 July and 6, 7, 9, and 10 August 1956. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 6, cols. 988-95, 1654-75, 2230-1, 2377-87, 2572-7, 2582-4, 2590-5, 2598, 2646-7, 2665 and 2838-47.
2. Pant had moved that the "Bill to provide for the reorganisation of the States of India and for matters connected therewith, as reported by the Joint Committee, be taken into consideration." The report of the Joint Committee had been placed by him before the House on 16 July.

May I also hope that if there are still any points which admit of any improvement, then efforts will be made so that we may have the goodwill of all in the launching of this scheme? Delay in this matter will be harmful. Even now, I think, constructive activity has suffered a setback and the sooner the new States are formed the better it will be for all concerned and it will then be possible for all to concentrate on the work of reconstruction. I earnestly hope that the reorganisation of the States will result in the acceleration of the pace of advancement and reconstruction.

So far as the amended Bill as it has emerged from the Joint Committee is concerned, I trust all will agree that it is an improvement on the Bill as it was originally introduced. It carried almost the general support of the entire Joint Committee except in regard to a few matters. The Joint Committee had to deal with a large number of questions. We often are carried away by some matters which are of importance but which have really eclipsed the rest of the area which has already been covered. The Joint Committee's report accepts practically all chapters in the Bill relating to incidental matters such as the allocation of funds, liabilities, assets and various other matters which cover the major part of the Bill. With regard to the reorganisation of States too, but for one or two States there has been almost unanimity. So, the Joint Committee has accepted by and large the scheme of reorganisation. There are a few minutes of dissent, but they only indicate that but for the points mentioned in the minutes, the rest of the report is acceptable to everyone. That has, in fact, been said in clear terms. Even the dissentients have accepted that this Bill, as amended by the Joint Committee, is considerably better than the Bill that was introduced in this House. The Joint Committee has made a few important changes. They relate to matters which were of some interest to special constituencies and also to matters which were of a wider character. Some formal changes had to be made so as to bring the Bill in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution. The classification of A and C has again been introduced in the Bill. It does not really mark any departure from the original scheme or intention, but it was considered advisable to retain the words for the present, which will be deleted later on.

Again, in accordance with article 4 of our Constitution, the Schedule has been annexed to the Bill and that also carries out the directions of the Speaker.

Apart from that, certain other changes have been made. The State of Andhra Pradesh is now to be called by that name. Andhra-Telangana has now been replaced by this name, which had been recommended by the Legislature of Hyderabad and also by the Andhra Legislature.

The State of Maharashtra will have a Legislative Council. Other States too had in a way shown their keenness for having such Councils, especially Madhya Pradesh and Andhra, but it was not considered desirable to make such a provision in the Bill. The Legislature there can proceed in the usual manner, and on its recommendation, Parliament can take necessary action. As

to the State of Maharashtra, as it is the principal successor State to the existing State of Bombay which has a Legislative Council, and as there was a unanimous desire that the Legislative Council should also be provided for Maharashtra, a provision to that effect has been incorporated in the Bill itself.

Shri S.S. More: Was it the unanimous desire of the people or of the Joint Committee?

Pandit G.B. Pant: Of the members of the Joint Committee.

So far as the number of members of the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly is concerned, it has been raised from 240 to 280, so that every Parliamentary constituency may have 7 Assembly constituencies. In allotting the numbers to the various States, this has been kept in view, and due care has been taken to see that the new constituencies that may have to be demarcated as a result of reorganisation should be the minimum in number, so the existing constituencies have served in determining the number of members that have been allotted to the new composite States.

Apart from these changes, there have been certain changes with regard to the High Courts. The Bill has provided that certain States should have a lower scale of salary, such as Mysore and Travancore-Cochin, but it was argued that the new States would be bigger than some of the existing States like Orissa, where the scale of salary which is at present prevailing is in accord with the scales obtaining in other A class States. And also as the Bill contemplates that hereafter Judges of the High Courts may be transferred from one High Court to another, it is desirable that there should be uniformity in the matter of the salary of the Judges.

There was again discussion in the Joint Committee about the problem of Bombay. The dissenting minutes too refer to the Bombay problem. The provision in the Bill was only to the effect that Bombay would be Centrally-Administered. There was some apprehension in some quarters that this unqualified provision in the Bill might mean that Bombay would ever continue to be a Centrally-administered area. So, it has been definitely stated in the Report that this provision about Bombay being administered by the Centre will be subject to review in five years in accordance with the statement made by the Prime Minister in Bombay itself. So, that is the view of the Joint Committee.

Then, there are certain other matters which are of a minor character and are mentioned in the report of the Committee and in the clauses that are explanatory and attached to the Bill itself. I do not know if it would be necessary for me to refer to the other changes that have been suggested in the Bill.

The Joint Committee has raised the number of Members that had been originally provided for Centrally-administered areas. Thus Bombay will have seven members in the Lok Sabha and five in the Rajya Sabha. Delhi will have five members in the Lok Sabha and three in the Rajya Sabha. Himachal Pradesh will have four members in the Lok Sabha and two in the Rajya Sabha. Tripura and Manipur will have two each in the Lok Sabha and one each in the Rajya

Sabha. All legislation for these areas will be the responsibility of Parliament and so it was considered desirable to raise the number of their representatives, and I think that this matter has been treated in a manner which should give them some satisfaction and assurance about the future.

In the dissenting minutes certain points have been prominently mentioned. One of these relates to Bombay to which I have referred. There is also some reference to Himachal Pradesh, to boundary commission and to safeguards for linguistic minorities. The Committee was particularly keen about effective safeguards being provided for linguistic minorities. The proposals framed by the Government were placed before the Committee and they have been attached to the report and an amplified version of that memo will, I hope, be placed on the table of this House shortly. We are going to issue instructions after the matter has been discussed in this House, if it is taken up by the hon. Members.

I may, however, state that it has been the desire of the Government from the very outset that all reasonable safeguards to protect the interests of linguistic minorities and to enable them to enjoy reasonable facilities should be provided and that no citizen should suffer on account of the language that he speaks. Our Constitution, in a way, recognises fourteen languages and anyone can put any application in any of these languages in any court or address it to any Government. That was the intention that language should not come in the way of the enjoyment of civic rights. So, I hope, appropriate action will be taken in that regard.

A suggestion has been made that some officer like the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes should be appointed to look after the matters pertaining to linguistic minorities. It has also been suggested that the report of such an officer should be made available to Parliament and it should be open to Parliament to discuss it. The question is an important one and I hope it will receive attention. In fact, I had attempted to invite the attention of this House to this vital problem when discussions were held previously, but, on account of other matters which seemed to claim priority over everything else, this did not receive that amount of attention which it deserved.

I have placed the report of the Joint Committee before the House. The Committee did its work very assiduously. The Committee scrutinized the report from one end to the other. Every word, every syllable and every line was examined. After thoroughly reviewing the whole position and considering every question, whether big or small, major or minor, it reached decisions which had the unqualified support of at least forty members and with regard to only a few of which, certain dissenting minutes have been appended. So, I appeal to the House to accept the recommendations of the Committee with such improvements as may yet be feasible. I do not exactly know if there is much room for any further change; but the collective wisdom of the House may prove more fruitful than one sometimes does not find oneself in a position to estimate. I

can only hope that controversies will now subside and be set at rest and that, now that we have reached the penultimate stage, we will be able to get through it with goodwill in an atmosphere of calm and tranquil understanding, actuated by a spirit of accommodation and placing before ourselves ceaselessly the ideal of a prosperous, united and strong India which we hope to achieve under the leadership of our Prime Minister, who through his democratic ways and other methods has led the country forward and raised its status all over the world and has filled us all with hope and faith in the future of the country and in our ability to realise the dreams which we had cherished from our childhood.

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Mr. Deputy Speaker.<sup>3</sup> Sir, since I moved the motion for the consideration of the amended Bill on States' reorganisation, as it has been returned by the Joint Committee, an interesting discussion has taken place for nearly 24 hours. I regret that I have not been able to attend the House regularly throughout the debate and for that I apologise to the hon. Members. I had the opportunity of listening to some of the speeches and I have acquainted myself with the views and sentiments that were expressed when I was absent ....

It is regrettable that in spite of all the thought that has been given to the matter and the efforts that have been made to secure the advice and guidance of every shade of opinion, there should be still some doubt about the method that has been followed. It has neither been cavalier, nor has it been unconstitutional. If anything, the democratic process has been overdone. Not only here but also in the Cabinet, we gave considerable thought to this question. I think the Cabinet considered the proposals on about 14 occasions, and there too, the problem of Bombay figured prominently. Those interested in Bombay naturally gave expression to their views and they did so fully and in a manner which indicated their feelings and convictions over that matter. That is what happened in the Cabinet. The Cabinet also appointed a Sub-Committee and that Sub-Committee was occasionally also attended by other members of the Cabinet. So the Sub-Committee had the benefit also of their advice. Ultimately, the decisions taken by the Cabinet from time to time tentatively were placed before the Cabinet in the form of the Bill and the Bill was considered by the Cabinet. I think, more than once, it was approved and adopted. And every provision in the Bill was naturally accepted by the Cabinet with a due sense of

3. Sardar Hukam Singh, b. 1895; member Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee 1926-41; member Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament 1946-52; Judge Kapurthala State High Court 1947-48; member Lok Sabha 1952-67, Deputy Speaker Lok Sabha 1956-62, and Speaker 1962-67, Governor of Rajasthan 1967-71, and later Governor of Tamil Nadu; d. 1983.

responsibility collectively and, by every member, separately. That is how this Bill ultimately took shape and came here. In the circumstances, I think, there should be no lurking doubt or suspicion that any attempt has been made to hustle through these matters. The very process that has been followed outside would have stood in the way of any such course being adopted. I regret that the decisions of the Cabinet with regard to certain matters have not appealed and commended themselves to those who took part in the discussions. But, that is a regrettable matter. Still, we feel that in a democratic set-up we have to agree to disagree without rancour and, as far as possible, without leaving any trace of bitterness or anger behind.

I was sorry to find a suggestion made that there was animus against Maharashtra. I would submit that that is not correct and, if I will just relate the facts about this, there can be no doubt, I am convinced, that this feeling will be completely eradicated.

Hon. Members are aware that the States Reorganisation Commission had recommended a bilingual State for Bombay. The State was to consist of the Marathwada districts, the Maharashtra districts of the existing State of Bombay, Bombay itself, Gujarat districts and Saurashtra. It had also recommended that Vidarbha should be a separate independent State not for any limited time but, so far as the Commission was concerned, for an indefinite period. This recommendation of the Commission did not commend itself to our fellow-countrymen in Maharashtra. In fact, they were repelled by it. They condemned it and they would not touch it with a pair of tongs or of bamboos either. They had very strong feelings. They simply hated it. So, in spite of our own views about this proposal, though we would have liked Bombay to form part of a bigger State, we dropped the idea of giving effect to the recommendation of the Commission in this regard. Hon. Members are aware that it has been our effort to adopt the recommendations of the Commission except where there has been a formal or informal sort of agreement between the States concerned. So, we rejected that recommendation; and in consultation with our Maharashtrian colleagues, we then suggested that there should be three States, one consisting of the Maharashtrian districts of Bombay and Marathwada and Vidarbha, another Bombay and the third Gujarat.

Shri S.S. More : May I know whether there was any written communication by these leaders or was all this only oral talk?

Pandit G.B. Pant: There have been communications by some; but there was no formal communication addressed to Government as such. I do not know if Shri More has any doubts about the correctness of the statement that I have made.

Shri S.S. More: Because some of the leaders are challenging this statement.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I do not know; there may be some leaders who were not associated with it. I do not deny that there may be some; but those with whom



we have been closely associated seemed to be agreeable and they were parties to it. I do not blame them. We agreed as much as they agreed and we felt that .....

Shri C.D. Deshmukh: I think by colleagues the hon. Minister means the members of the Working Committee of the Congress; by colleagues, he does not mean colleagues of his in the Government. This particular decision that he has referred to is the decision of the Working Committee of the Congress.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I was certainly not suggesting in any way that Shri Deshmukh was a party to it. I think that is what he wanted to know.

Shri Gadgil: What was the resolution of the M.P.C.C.?

Pandit G.B. Pant: I am coming to that.

Anyway, this proposal had the merit of bringing about the unification of Vidarbha and the Maharashtra. In the case of Telengana and Andhra, the Commission had recommended that Telengana should remain separate for 5 years and then, by a two-thirds majority, it may join Andhra. In the case of Vidarbha, there was no such recommendation. But we felt that it was desirable that Maharashtra should have a unified State, it should have a big State and we thought that it was but proper that we should use our influence to the extent we could with the leaders of Vidarbha in order to persuade them to join the rest of Maharashtra. Vidarbha has quite a big chunk of territory and lakhs of people reside in Vidarbha. If Vidarbha had remained out, Maharashtra would have been somewhat truncated. So, it was our effort to ensure the unification of Vidarbha and the rest of Maharashtra at the outset. I think that does not indicate any animus. That should, if a charitable view be taken, be regarded as an earnest of our desire to help Maharashtra in the realisation of its aspirations. It was with that object that we took that step and we had three-State formula. Unfortunately, this three-State formula did not meet with the approval of several people in Maharashtra. And our own friends who had already been party to it found it difficult to press it and to push it. Shri Deshmukh also did not like it so much so, I think, that he tendered his resignation after the publication of that proposal. So, we found that even that formula did not really meet the needs of the situation. We had always been anxious to explore all possibilities which would result in the satisfaction of the people of Maharashtra.

So, we continued our search and friends were consulted. We were told by them that a Centrally-administered Bombay along with Maharashtra, that is, the whole of Maharashtra including Vidarbha, and Gujarat including Saurashtra would be acceptable. We proceeded on those lines. We had discussed the question not only with the leaders of Maharashtra in the Congress but also with some others who had devoted their lives to the service of the country and are even now working every minute in the midst of peasants and toilers. They all suggested that Central administration would be better.

While this talk was going on and we had almost reached the conclusion that Bombay should be Centrally-administered, we were told by Shri Deshmukh

that he had been authorised to state that the leaders of Maharashtra would now prefer to have a State for Bombay instead of Bombay being Centrally-administered. In the light of what he said, we did not close the question then, but requested him to invite those members to Delhi. We took upon ourselves also to invite the leaders of Vidarbha, so that the remaining question about the unification of Vidarbha and Maharashtra might also be satisfactorily settled.

When, however, the leaders of Maharashtra who had given Shri Deshmukh to understand that they would like to have Bombay as a State arrived, they had changed their opinion in the meantime; they thought and they told me that they would like to have a Centrally-administered Bombay. The feeling was that Bombay once a State would always be a State, so that the chances of merger would be remote. They felt that administration from the Centre would make it much more feasible to merge Bombay later in Maharashtra. So, out of regard for their wishes, out of regard for the feelings expressed by them, we agreed to the proposal for Central administration of Bombay.

Shri Deshmukh had talks with them; he was embarrassed because of what they had told him. But, after all, he could only persuade them and did not succeed in that effort. He had himself at one time rejected the Bombay State formula, but later he felt that it could well be accepted. But in the circumstances, as they were not agreeable, we had to accept the Central administration proposal about Bombay.

Even after we had done so, there were some murmurings here and there that Bombay is going to be Centrally-administered, there is no provision in it that the question will be considered later, and that means that Bombay will remain under Central administration for ever and for good, and that, therefore, something should be done to remove this misapprehension. In order to remove such a misapprehension, and in consultation with some friends, the Prime Minister made a statement in Bombay.<sup>4</sup> It was but appropriate and natural that the Prime Minister should have done so. I feel that people would have regarded it as a deplorable omission if the head of the State in the executive side, who is leading the country today and who bears the onerous burdens not only in this land but also when he goes outside, having visited Bombay, had refrained from saying words which tended to reassure those whose minds were kept in suspense. He made that statement and I think he did it rightly and properly and in the fitness of things. Any other course would have been in every way open to objection, and it would not have even been regarded as proper. So, he did it and now we have that proposal.

When the question was discussed in the Joint Committee, the objection was again raised that Centrally-administered Bombay is all right; the Prime Min-

4. Speaking at the A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay on 3 June, Jawaharlal Nehru had stated that the city of Bombay would be Centrally-administered, and that after a certain period, which might be about five years, the people of the city should have the opportunity to decide their own future.

ister had said that the matter will be reviewed in five years, but what about it? After five years we may review, but there is no mention anywhere about it. So we were asked to introduce in the report that the problem of Bombay would be subject to review in five years. That again was done to leave no room for any doubt in this regard.

At the very beginning the Prime Minister had said that Bombay formed geographically a part of Maharashtra. Then it was said that Bombay would be Centrally-administered. Then it has been said that the decision would be subject to review in five years, and while the wishes of the people of Bombay would be taken into account, there would be no rigid form of plebiscite or anything like that, but the consensus or the general trend of opinion would be taken into account. Above all, the mutual relations, the disturbances that have stood in the way of a calm consideration of the problem having left some scars and these scars having disappeared, the matter would be considered in a way which would lead to the fostering of a spirit of goodwill, fellowship and neighbourly accommodation. It was thus that the final decisions were reached. The Cabinet was continuously in touch with all these and when the Cabinet had almost decided that Bombay had to be Centrally-administered, that decision was postponed in a way out of regard for certain suggestions that were then made. When those intervening proposals collapsed, naturally, the only course left was to adopt the decision that had been virtually already reached. That is what happened.

I think in these circumstances there would be hardly any ground for feeling that there has been any animus against Maharashtra. It is a matter of pain to us that we have not yet been able to give complete satisfaction to every Maharashtrian. It is equally painful to us that we should have to part with a great financial expert and a man of culture, Shri Deshmukh. But we have done the utmost that we could. To say that we have been actuated by animus is, I feel very unkind, if not harsh, and to some extent even untrue. So, that idea has to be dropped.

Is there anything so monstrous about this proposal for Bombay being Centrally-administered for a limited period? Well, Mr. Deshmukh himself felt, and he has suggested it, that the best solution for Bombay would be a bigger bilingual State; with his strong view in the matter that the hinterland of Bombay should go with Bombay and also the feeling that Bombay should not be treated in a manner different than Madras or Calcutta, the exigencies and the inexorable demands of the situation have driven him to the conclusion that considering the unique position of Bombay, Bombay should not be merged in a unilingual State, if any other solution of having a bigger bilingual State is feasible and possible in the circumstances. If he felt that this was a problem

5. The Joint Committee report recommended that Bombay be made a Centrally-administered state.

which called for further consideration, regardless of any unsavoury development that might have taken place in Bombay in recent months, I do not think our judgement can be taken to task or considered to be blameworthy on that account.

If, in spite of the fact that there is the hinterland, Shri Deshmukh should have thought that Bombay could be a separate State and, as such, separate from the hinterland the fact of its being Centrally-administered does not prejudice the hinterland any more, because the Centre is interested in Bombay, it is interested in the hinterland, it is interested in the welfare of India which is inextricably bound up with the progress and prosperity of Bombay and it cannot possibly be a party to anything that would lead to the deterioration of Bombay. In the circumstances, I do not know why he should have thought that the Central administration is altogether condemnable.

He went even further and he has said that this provision, that after five years it should be reviewed, makes the situation worse. Well, that is beyond my comprehension. Because if the provision were there that it is to continue to be Centrally-administered without any provision as to its being reviewable within a reasonable period, then the opportunity of having the decision reconsidered and, perhaps of getting Bombay merged either in the bigger bilingual or possibly in the Maharashtra State would have been somewhat more remote. So, whatever has been done, has been done with the best of intentions and I think the charge of animus will now be considered, at least by all dispassionate persons, as having been wiped out.

There has been, in this connection, some unnecessary controversy as to what the Cabinet did and what the Cabinet did not. The Cabinet did everything that could enable it to reach an agreed decision and the Cabinet said so. It naturally tried to have the benefit of the advice of the Members and it reached final decisions after having explored every possibility. All previous stages were formulated and the final stage was when the draft of the Bill was considered. But even before that, there had been, as I said, fourteen occasions perhaps on which the proposals relating to reorganisation were considered. Not only the question of Bombay being Centrally-administered or being part of a State was considered but also the border disputes relating to Belgaum, Supa, Hali, etc. were discussed, if I am right, in the presence of Shri Deshmukh. He wanted a uniform principle to be applied to all and that was but right. Decisions were taken in regard to that uniform principle which had been laid down by the S.R.C. It was said that the Cabinet was sometimes disregarded and ignored. A reference was made to certain replies given by the Prime Minister when Tamil Nad was separated from Andhra or Andhra was separated from Tamil Nad. The decision had been taken, perhaps in 1949, by the Cabinet.<sup>6</sup> The principle

6. The eight-member Partition Committee, set up by the Central Government in November 1949, had reached, in January 1950, complete agreement on all issues raised by the Govern-

had been accepted before the question was put. On the basis of the decision previously taken, the Prime Minister gave a reply and after having given that reply, he made a detailed announcement the next day in the terms which had been approved by the Cabinet itself. I do not see what more he could have done or what any other essentially predominantly democratic body could have attempted. So any doubt in this regard must now be held as having been dispelled.

In the course of the discussion, certain remarks were made by Shri Deshmukh. I regret that some of the observations made by him will, instead of helping the cause he has in his heart, tend to retard the process. What we want in Bombay is the emotional integration of the people living in Bombay and for that we have to apply the healing process and not to do anything or to say words unwarily, much less in a calculated and deliberate manner, which would lead to further alienation of the different communities from each other. I am afraid that the speech that he made might well be pressed into service by those who do not want good relations to be restored between the different communities in Bombay. He does not seem to have much regard for the Congress leaders of Bombay or even for the Ministers there. He said that so far as the masses go, there was enough goodwill among them but the politicians at the top were creating all the trouble. I wonder to which class he would himself belong if his speech were read and the test that he prescribed were to be applied to it.

Sir, in the course of the speech that Shri Deshmukh made, he referred to certain remarks that I had occasion to make earlier. He said that I characterised the Maharashtrian community as unsagacious.<sup>7</sup> I denied that I had done so but still he was not satisfied. In the circumstances, I crave the permission of the House just to read out what I then said:

I said:

So far as Bombay is concerned, I think this House devoted the major portion of its time to the discussion of problems connected with Bombay. It is but natural. Bombay holds a pride of place in our country. It is worthy of all the attention that can be bestowed on this great city, and the people who are concerned with it are also people to whom every citizen of India has reason to be grateful. Maharashtra gave us Lokamanya Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and several other leaders who not only in the present but in the past led our country from step to step to this goal of independence. Gujarat will ever remain enshrined not only in the annals

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ment of India on the formation of the state of Andhra, and recommended that the new state be formed before the inauguration of the Republic. However, the new state came into existence on 1 October 1953.

7. Deshmukh had observed: "He (Pant) said the Marathas have valour and the Gujaratis have sagacity.... Therefore the Home Minister has by implication classed Maharashtrians as non-sagacious."

of our land but those of the world for having produced a Gandhi. So far as Gujarat and Maharashtra are concerned, we would have to do all that we can to see that a solution that is acceptable to all is devised and evolved. We are determined to do that and we are determined to succeed in that. And if we fail, it will not be the failure of Gujaratis or of Maharashtrians, but of us all, because we must be able to serve them, to assure them that what we wish is the greatness of this country, to which they can contribute more than anybody else. To that end, we will do all we can. We will labour hard. The Gujaratis and the Maharashtrians complement and supplement each other's qualities. One has more of valour, and, perhaps the other more of discretion. But all have to go together. One may serve as an engine and the other as a brake. But this is how the train will march on and march faster and faster as it goes on. So, we have to find a solution, and we shall find it.

I ask the House if there is anything unfriendly in this that could give any cause for umbrage or offence to any Maharashtrian whether here in the House or outside. I have nothing but the greatest reverence and respect for the great leaders that Maharashtra has produced, and even today it would be a matter of immense gratification to me if I could, in my own humble way, be of any little insignificant service to that community.

He said that it is possible that there may be more of valour in one and more of sagacity in another. But I did not use the word "sagacity". I used the word "discretion" and I myself said that one has more of valour and the other more of discretion, but both qualities are shared by both; in one section there may be more of one and in the other more of the other. What can be the objection to this, I fail to understand. I should say that, if any other man had used that expression, I would have said that he had been guilty of deliberate distortion.

But Shri Deshmukh was not satisfied with this. He went further and he reminded me of my connection with Maharashtra from where my ancestors migrated nearly 250 years ago.<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to him that he has told this House there is some little strain of the Maharashtrian blood in me too. So they should not suspect. I am one of them and he has reminded them.....

Shri Gadgil: Be with us.

Pandit G.B. Pant:.....of the ancestral tie. I am with you and I convert you to the right.

Shri Gadgil: I await.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Well, in the circumstances, I am really thankful to him, for I have myself refrained from making mention of this fact as I thought that

8 Deshmukh had said: "Sagacity left Maharashtra when a certain family of Maharashtra Brahmins left Deorukh in Ratnagiri 250 years ago."

it would look as though I am making use of a sacred and precious heritage which should be preserved in all its sacredness. But as he has announced this fact, I hope I will not be regarded as a man having contacts only with one State but as one who has very ancient bonds binding him with Maharashtra.

Sir, not only was this that Shri Deshmukh said; there were some other statements which showed the angle from which he had examined this entire problem. He said that Bombay was not made a State but it was Centrally-administered so that its surplus may be taken up by others. He knows as a financier that the Central administration will be in the interest of the country. The Finance Commission will be sitting shortly. So far as the current budget is concerned allotments have already been made. Whatever share, or the whole of it if that be the demand of equity, was given to Maharashtra will be allotted. I hope, by the Finance Commission, to Maharashtra, because all dispositions that have been made so far will be reviewed by the Finance Commission. So there is no design behind it and, if there is any, it is only one that can be helpful to Maharashtra and not come in the way of its advancement.

Then he further made another statement. He said that the Industrial Finance Corporation of Bombay had not been transferred to Maharashtra but it had been retained in the Bombay, Centrally-administered area. Well, I think he either slipped over the facts or he did not appreciate their significance. This Industrial Finance Corporation has advanced loans mostly to the people and concerns and firms working in Bombay. So when the matter was considered in the Joint Committee, it was felt—and the Members from Maharashtra particularly appreciated this difficulty—that all these loans will have to be realised in Bombay. Bombay not being a part of Maharashtra, if this Industrial Finance Corporation was now to be transferred to Maharashtra State, it would have dead stones on its neck from the very start. It won't be able to realise its debts while its liability would be there for the loans and deposits that had been made through and in favour of the Industrial Finance Corporation. So, in order to safeguard the interests of Maharashtra, in order to see that it was not burdened with these liabilities, which it would be difficult for it to collect, it was considered equitable that the Industrial Finance Corporation of Bombay should remain in Bombay. And, along with that, it was decided that whatever contribution had been made by the Bombay State today towards the funds of this Industrial Finance Corporation, the share of those funds, the capital investment that was allottable to Maharashtra would be given to Maharashtra in cash. I do not see how one could be more generous to Maharashtra so far as this Industrial Finance Corporation is concerned. How could there be any objection to it? All these things indicate that matters were not viewed from the right but from an acute angle! I am not at all surprised. Experts often examine things very closely, but they are greatly embarrassed if they get off the rails. The engine carries big loads as it moves on the rails. Once it gets off the rails it gets upset and the whole of the train goes down the *khud*. So, I am not surprised.

Such things do happen at times. So, I am sorry that there should be such an approach towards problems of such great moment on the part of great and decent men. I will say no more about Bombay, except this. Let us all apply ourselves in a constructive way, with all the humility of which we are capable, in order to restore goodwill and fellowship among the citizens of Bombay. Bombay is great and its greatness has to be preserved.

I have never said a word against Bombay going to Maharashtra. I have taken a long time in this House in expressing my views, but not a word have I uttered, not an argument have I advanced against Bombay's going to Maharashtra. I have always been anxious to bring about an arrangement that would satisfy all sections. But wherever Bombay goes, let Bombay remain a precious asset. Let not the vitality of Bombay be sapped. Whether Bombay remains a city State or whether Bombay is Centrally-administered or whether Bombay is merged in Maharashtra, none can have the benefit unless Bombay continues to be as great and becomes still greater than it is today. Let us all bend our energies towards that. Let us all think that in India, Maharashtra and every other State is, after all, an integral part of India and let every man, whether in Punjab or in any other place, remember that if Bombay is healthy, strong, prosperous, and if it goes to Maharashtra and continues to progress and to advance further, it will be for the benefit and advantage of India. So, let us do all that is necessary.

Some doubts and fears were expressed that people may be turned out of Bombay; that insidious methods may be adopted towards that end. Well, I think it will be the duty of the Centre to see that no foul play is tolerated, that nothing is allowed to be done in that way, and that everyone has ample opportunity, necessary security and all the safeguards that are needed to enable one to have a full, free and happy life in Bombay. So, let there be no apprehensions. Let us not be deterred by imaginary phantoms. The future has no doubt its problems but we can solve them only if we face them boldly today. It is not by hiding our head under the bush and indulging in such speculative dreams—these can only depress us—that we can proceed towards the big ends which our country has to achieve. So, I submit, let us not work on imaginary fears and apprehensions. I wonder if anything more in this regard has to be said, after what the Prime Minister had authoritatively stated yesterday.<sup>9</sup>

There had been references to a few other matters in the course of this discussion. Some Members also referred to Punjab. My friend Shri N.C. Chatterjee is not here. He has found fault with the regional formula. If my impression is right, he was once for the federation of two sub-States in the

9. Speaking in the Lok Sabha on 30 July, Jawaharlal Nehru had said that once the passions prevailing at the moment cooled down, Bombay would be given an opportunity to decide about its own future. He had added: "I do not naturally mean that you will have a plebiscite or referendum and all that, but if there is a good atmosphere I have no doubt that it would be far simpler to settle this matter without any such cumbrous process."



Punjab. I would enquire from him as to which of the two was really in the interests of preservation of the integrity and unity of the Punjab and whether we do or do not wish that all people in this country should live in a spirit of comradeship and that every citizen should have sufficient opportunity for constructive work, and that no man should feel handicapped on account of any majority roundabout.

Punjab has great traditions. The people living in Punjab are inheritors of those traditions and they should readily have accepted, all of them, the regional formula. It provides that there will be one Punjab, one legislature, one Cabinet, one High Court and one Public Service Commission and only two regions which will function not on any communal but on a regional basis. Why then should there be any quarrel about it? Do we not want every citizen to have full scope for the blossoming of his own genius? Will the country benefit if anyone is routed and suppressed? So, let us take a view of things that will redound to our benefit and to the credit of our country. Petty squabbles cannot raise any citizen or any State, and it is a matter of pain and sorrow to us that controversies have centred around such—if I may venture to use the expression—a fine scheme which has been evolved for the Punjab. It would have healed the wounds; it would have cured the unhealthy elements in the body politic and it would have restored that cohesion and solidarity without which no State can advance. Better late than later, better early than too late. So, I hope that even now, the people of the Punjab will accept this scheme and join hands in working together for the uplift of the people of the Punjab.

Our revered leader, Acharya Kripalani,<sup>10</sup> spoke with his usual earnestness. He is one of the foremost patriots in our country. He felt that in the interests of smooth progress, and with the faith that he has in the healing power of time, it would be better to suspend further progress of this Bill or to keep these proposals in abeyance. Well, I have great regard for his opinion and for his disinterested approach towards all problems. But it seems to me to be the counsel of desperation.

I think, as I stated at the outset, that we have already solved most of the problems and I think the little that is still outstanding will also be resolved in a satisfactory way. But to leave a festering sore is not in the interest of all of us. Once we start, we must reach the goal; to leave it half-way is not the manly way of handling things. It is not even the prudent way, because ultimately it costs more than facing the difficulties today. If we suspend the further consid-

10. J.B.Kripalani; b. 1888; eminent Congress leader who took active part in the Champaran satyagraha in 1917 and joined civil disobedience movement in 1930; General Secretary of the Congress 1934-46, and its President 1946; resigned from the Congress in 1951 and formed Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party, which, after merger with Socialist Party, became Praja Socialist Party; chairman Praja Socialist Party 1960; member Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament 1946-52, and Lok Sabha 1952-70; d. 1982; works include *The Gandhian Way* and *The Non-Violent Revolution*.

eration of this Bill, then the Damocles' sword will be hanging over the fate not of any particular State, but of every State and of every one of us. So, I feel that unless this House—all sections, of course—resolves that this should be done, nothing else can possibly be done, because we advance in matters like this only with the co-operation and goodwill of all sections. Unless all feel that we should adopt such a course, I would find it difficult to appreciate the force of the remarks to the extent as to how there will be greater good if we postpone things, than we can achieve if we continue and even accelerate it. But, if all Members of this House feel otherwise, we are just in their hands.

I have stated what I feel and what I think; and I can only hope that many will agree. Why should we not be able to resolve our differences? Even if we cannot, why should we not reconcile ourselves to decisions that have been taken after prolonged discussions, after the most careful consideration and after consultation with all possible groups, interests and opinions in the country? So, I hope that all will now enter this task in a constructive spirit with a view to get over the remaining difficulties and to ensure the common objective which has, after all, influenced us in going in for this reorganisation of States.

Sir, a suggestion was also made with regard to the establishment of a boundary commission. I must say that I am not enamoured of the idea. We have zonal councils now and the scope of the zonal councils has been enlarged; not only the States within the zone but also other States can meet together and discuss problems of common interest. There are two things which have been specifically mentioned for the consideration of the zonal councils—boundary disputes and safeguards for linguistic minorities. So, I should like to give a little quiet, a little sense of comfort, relief and rest to the country. To have this sort of wrangling continuously does not seem to me to be in the interest of the tranquillity that we need or the emotional integration which we all desire. So, let us hope that when the new States are formed, the boundary disputes will be settled by them. I appealed to my friends in the Joint Committee belonging to different States to meet together and to settle their problems. When that did not result in any concrete thing being done, then I suggested that they might meet together and appoint common arbitrators. But, even there we did not succeed. In the circumstances, I did not like to continue this process .....

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: The question of an arbitrator was never brought up before the Joint Committee.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I appealed to the Members perhaps informally.

Shri S.S. More: To Congress Members.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Yes; you must be right. I might have done it informally.

I would even now appeal to the Members belonging to different States in Parliament to meet together and to settle the disputes and the differences. After all, as the Prime Minister has reminded us, we are all here as representatives of India, though the doors through which we have entered this magnifi-

cent hall may be spread all over the country. So, let us apply our minds in that spirit; and there is no reason why we should not settle these petty differences among ourselves. But, left to myself, I would not like to continue this period of friction, wrangling, and, in a way, fight against each other to be prolonged. Whether the issues are big or small, if the tournament continues, then the spirit that we need will not be achieved or maintained. It is because of this that I am submitting this for the consideration of the House.

Mr. Frank Anthony<sup>11</sup> here and in the Joint Committee drew the attention of the Members to the need for providing safeguards for linguistic minorities. We have throughout been of the view that adequate safeguards will be provided and that every citizen, whatever be his language, should feel that he has ample and unrestricted scope for growth and development. So, there is no difference between him and us. Dr. Lanka Sundaram has suggested in his minute of dissent that it will be desirable to have an officer like the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for looking after the interests of the linguistic minorities and also that the report should be placed on the table of the House. Well, these suggestions are worthy of consideration and I hope the House will accept them.

Shri Boovaraghasamy:<sup>12</sup> Why the Madras State is not named as "Tamil Nad" according to the wishes of Tamilians?

Pandit G.B. Pant: You will have ample time to put that question later.

I have dealt with some of the salient points that were raised in the course of the debate. I have already perhaps exceeded the time allotted to me. I can only appeal to the hon. Members of this House to view this problem with that large-heartedness which alone can raise our country to a status higher than the one which it has already achieved. This morning, we had the privilege of listening to the account of his travels in foreign countries that the Prime Minister gave us.<sup>13</sup> I felt proud and I was elated for a moment. Let us then remember how high he has lifted our country and ourselves; and let us also remember that if we have to maintain those standards, then we have to be guided not by petty considerations, but by something big befitting our great heritage, the great traditions that we have inherited and the great ancestors from whom we claim our descent.<sup>14</sup>

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11 B. 1908, President in-chief All India Anglo-Indian Association for a number of years from 1942, member Central Legislative Assembly 1942, member Constituent Assembly 1946, nominated Anglo-Indian member of Lok Sabha 1952-77; d. 1993

12 Bhoovaraghaswami Padayachi, member of Tamilnad Toilers' Party and Lok Sabha member for Perambalur (Madras)

13 Nehru returned to India on 23 July 1956 after about a month's tour abroad. He attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held at London from 27 June to 5 July and visited some other countries on his way back

14 After this, Pant's motion that the States Reorganisation Bill, as reported by the Joint Committee, be taken into consideration was passed by the House and clause by clause consideration of the Bill was taken up.

I think hon. Members will realise that certain important proposals with regard to the clauses that were under discussion last week had been made by very prominent members of this House and those amendments have also the backing of the bulk of the members of this House.<sup>15</sup> Apparently, in those circumstances, it becomes the duty of the Government to consider the proposals and not to rush through matters. I have been anxious throughout to expedite the process of codification of this Bill and I want it to be made into law as soon as possible. But, in my anxiety to see things through, I should not override larger and more important considerations. So, it is out of regard for the views expressed by the House that I am making this request and I hope the House will agree with me that instead of grudging and accepting my request they can whole-heartedly endorse it.

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Sir, I am thankful to you and to the hon. Members of the House for having permitted me twice to defer my remarks on clauses 2 to 15. My task has since become easy and agreeable. Patience, according to a Hindi proverb, yields sweet fruits. So, I am here to express my gratitude to the hon. Members who have given a new turn to the debate on the States Reorganisation Bill.

As the hon. Members are aware, at every stage of the discussion Bombay has overshadowed the entire canvas here, whether we were discussing the report of the S.R.C. or the motion for reference of the Bill to the Joint Committee; or, later thereafter, the Bill as amended by the Joint Committee along with the report of the Joint Committee; Bombay eclipsed everything else. The entire House seemed to be interested more in Bombay than in the rest of the country taken together. If we measure the importance of Bombay by the length of time that was bestowed on the consideration of this problem of Bombay, we will realise the significance and importance of this problem. Throughout it was a spontaneous effort. There was no desire on the part of anybody to create any difficulty but everyone felt as though he had intimate relationship with Bombay and as though he was himself a part of Bombay. That is how Bombay loomed large during these discussions and everything else was relegated to the background.

We, from the outset, tried to find a satisfactory solution. There seemed to be unanimity as to what would be the best and the ideal solution for the problem of Bombay and other matters connected with Bombay. The S.R.C. recommended a bilingual State for Bombay and thereafter, the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee had itself suggested a bilingual State for Bombay including not only the territories mentioned in the proposal of the S.R.C. but

15. This part of the discussion related to clause 2, which dealt with definitions, and to clause 3 to 15 which dealt with territorial changes and formation of new States.

also Vidarbha. Gujarat also was throughout conscious of the fact that an abiding solution for the problem of Bombay and the neighbouring areas of Maharashtra and Gujarat could be found only in a big bilingual State. The Congress has, especially after seeing the reactions to some of the proposals made in the S.R.C. Report and the spirit of isolation, separatism, linguism, etc. that had been generated, expressed an emphatic opinion that only large States, if possible of a composite character, could provide the necessary corrective to the existing state of mind and tendencies, as revealed in the discussions. The Congress passed a resolution at Amritsar to that effect.<sup>16</sup> The Prime Minister had more than once stated in unequivocal language that he stood for a bilingual State of Bombay and, if possible, also for other places.

I had the privilege of speaking on this subject on several occasions.

Every time I laid emphasis on two points: (1) that the solution for Bombay could be found only in a bilingual State, and (2) that we are determined to find an agreed solution, and that if we fail, it would not be a failure of Maharashtra or Gujarat but of all of us and much more of those who are in charge of the affairs in the Government than of those who are outside. So, so far as the desire, so far as the desideratum was concerned, there was no anomaly, no difference of opinion and no attempt to create confusion.

But in spite of all this we did not succeed in devising a solution which would fulfil the conditions to which I have referred. We kept our mind open and throughout we were striving to find some solution which would be acceptable to Maharashtra and Gujarat, and to the country at large. Sometimes it seemed to be within grasp but again it eluded and we could not grapple with it. The affairs continued in that state. In this House too there was a feeling of some deficiency, of inadequacy, so far as the decision regarding Bombay was concerned. In the House, in spite of the efforts made by hon. Members to deal with the various controversial problems in a restrained manner, there seemed to be some tension which, somehow or other, did not allow people who were intimately concerned with this vital problem to come close to discuss the various pros and cons and to reach an agreed understanding. That was the state of affairs.

And we, on our part, when we ultimately decided that Bombay should be Centrally-administered and Gujarat and Maharashtra should be separate autonomous States, still placed before us the objective of a bigger bilingual State consisting of Bombay, Maharashtra and Gujarat. We provided in the Bill that there would be a common High Court for Bombay, Gujarat and Maharashtra. We also suggested that, if possible, these three units should have a common Governor and also a common Public Service Commission. We had hoped that by maintaining these ties intact it might be possible later to bring these units closer and to revive the composite State of Bombay on a grander scale.

16. The Amritsar Congress was held from 7 to 12 February 1956.

So, when the matter was discussed in this House and these clauses were under scrutiny, I was happy to find an amendment to the effect that Maharashtra, Marathwada, Vidarbha, Gujarat, Saurashtra and Bombay should form a composite State. I am grateful to the Members who.....

An hon. Member: And Kutch,

Pandit G.B. Pant: And Kutch also. Kutch, though least, is really an important unit and especially we, who are connected with its administration to-day. Kutch being Centrally administered, have close ties with it. Besides, it had to undergo a grave natural calamity only recently. So we could not forget it. All these were to form one unit.

This amendment No.462, which was proposed by a number of independent Members headed by Shri Frank Anthony, and which was moved by Shri Frank Anthony and supported by Shri Tulsidas<sup>17</sup> and others, opened the door which seemed to be half shut, if not locked altogether. It is a matter of gratification that they were able to support the amendment with an unanswerable and unassailable argument. But it was not merely a matter of reasoning. It is not, in such cases, the argument and the appeal to reason that by itself disarms opposition and wins over the waverer or the opponent. They placed the whole question before the Lok Sabha in an irresistible manner and they had the support of all sections of the House. The problem of Bombay had cut across all party affiliations. It was essentially a national problem and the solution that has been found for Bombay is essentially and truly national in every sense of the term. It is not a particular party which has devised this solution.<sup>18</sup> It was put forward with great sincerity and with unmistakable and in every way a profound earnestness and faith in the adequacy of the proposal that was made by the movers, and still more by those who supported it. I am thankful to Shri Kripalani Ji, to Shri Asoka Mehta,<sup>19</sup> to Shri C.D. Deshmukh and to other friends who extended their support to this amendment. Shri Jaipal Singh<sup>20</sup> went to the length of saying that he would forgo his own claims if Bombay is to become a big bilingual State. The national urge manifested itself in its intensity. The sentiments, which had been suppressed and which had been looking forward

17. Tulsidas Kilachand Sheth; independent member of Lok Sabha for Mehsana (Bombay)

18. The solution had been devised by 220 members of Parliament belonging to different parties. On 2 and 3 August, they had submitted a memorandum to the Government proposing that a bigger bilingual Bombay state, including Saurashtra, Kutch and Vidarbha, be formed

19. B. 1911; founder-member of Congress Socialist Party and member of its National Executive 1934-38; founded Hindu Mazdoor Sabha in 1949; after the split in Socialist Party served as General Secretary of Praja Socialist Party from 1950 to 1953; member Lok Sabha 1954-70; Deputy Chairman Planning Commission 1963-67; Union Minister for Planning 1966, resigned in 1968; d. 1984; author of *Socialism and Peasantry* and *Politics of Planned Economy*.

20. Representative of Scheduled Tribes and leader of Jharkhand party; member of Lok Sabha for Ranchi (Bihar).

for a suitable opportunity for their manifestation, got an opportune moment for their expression and for their manifestation.

I wonder if anything like this would have been easily anticipated even a week before the day when the matter was taken up. This Parliament has many achievements to its credit but none, I submit, greater than this achievement of the acceptance by all, excepting a few, of this solution of a bilingual State consisting of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Bombay for the western region.

An hon. Member: And Kutch.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Kutch. I regard Kutch as part of Saurashtra and it is because of the shadow under the lamp that I forget Kutch oftener than I ought to. But it was really an occasion when one felt elated. The Parliament proved worthy of its mettle. The Members of Parliament rose above narrow considerations and they demonstrated their unique capacity to handle big problems in a national way.

Shri S.S. More: Had not the M.P.C.C. passed a resolution in similar terms in October? Why was it not accepted?

Pandit G.B. Pant: I think there was some irony and the time was not mature for it. I wish that it had been possible to reach a correct decision earlier, but we did not succeed in framing a scheme on the lines indicated in this manner. But better late than never. We were gradually approaching almost a state of emergency, and on such an occasion it is gratifying that the Parliament took the matter in its own hands and it impressed everyone with the necessity and desirability of having a solution of this type. So, when later we came to know of it more fully, we found that almost the whole House.....

Some hon. Members: No, no.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Excepting Members who in a suppressed voice say, 'No, No,' all others were for it.

Shri K.K. Basu: It was louder.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I know they can shout out to make up for the deficiency of their numbers. So, all others supported this scheme and this proposal. Yet, while the Members of Parliament prepared the way, they showed us the light at the time when we were surrounded with gloom and there was still another problem which had to be solved. All of us were in favour of it; if we had been free we would have accepted it long ago. But we had no intention, at any time, to impose anything on Maharashtra or Gujarat. So it became necessary to consult the views and wishes of the leaders of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Bombay.

Armed with the unanimous support of the Members of Parliament, our task became relatively easy and we then explored these avenues which would ultimately lead to a final solution agreed and accepted not only by the Parliament but by everyone concerned. So, we discussed the matter with the leaders and the representatives of Maharashtra, of Gujarat and of Bombay.

Shri S.S. More: Belonging to the Congress only.

Shri G.B. Pant: No. Congressmen as well as non-Congressmen.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Pandit G.B. Pant:..... except perhaps those who would not have liked to join these talks. If there is any difficulty, I shall again go to Shri More's place and have a talk with him.

Shri S.S. More: This personal touch is not necessary here.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Then I will say, "to any Member's place."

I withdraw your name. I am not at all inclined to enter into any controversy on this happy occasion. I can only express my profound gratitude and my feelings of satisfaction and gratification. They are uppermost in my mind and nothing else counts. So, we succeeded in winning also their support and their consent for these proposals.

Thus, we have now a scheme which has been accepted and blessed by a large majority of the Members of Parliament, which has been accepted by the Government and which has also the support of the four areas concerned.

An hon. Member: Which are these four areas?

Pandit G.B. Pant: These areas are Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bombay and Kutch.

Now, it is an occasion for felicitations. I congratulate the hon. Members of this House for finding a satisfactory, abiding and permanent solution for a vexed problem which had shaken all parts of the country, which had created very difficult situations, which had left a trail behind and which had proved to be almost incapable of a satisfactory solution. Thus, this House deserves the gratitude of everyone in this country and of those who are particularly in charge of the administration today. I hope that we will continue to face our national problems in this spirit.

Parties exist. But party affiliations are meant for normally petty, trivial matters. Where large questions of national policy are concerned, they do not admit of any difference of opinion on ideological or fundamental grounds, and it should be possible for us to reach agreed conclusions. So, I am happy that a decision has been reached. But let us also realise the responsibilities that we have undertaken and the responsibilities which flow from this decision. The hon. Members must be knowing that this State of Bombay with Maharashtra, Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kutch will have an area of about 2 lakh square miles. It will have a population of nearly 50 million. As such, it will be bigger than many of the independent States in the West. The responsibilities that those who will be in charge of the administration will have to discharge will be onerous. They will stand in need of assistance, of sympathy and of support from the Parliament. I think they will find encouragement in the idea that this solution had been found by the Parliament itself spontaneously. It will be a reassurance to them that the Parliament will keep a kindly and tender eye on their affairs. We, as Members responsible for this decision, will have to see to it that those who have to undertake the responsibility of implementing it get



every support and every assistance from the Parliament. Five or six units and areas are being connected together. They will all be bound by the invisible silken tie; care has to be taken to see that that bond does not snap, that it is enduring and that this solution works to the satisfaction of all and proves to be of a permanent character. There are murmurings heard here and there even now. I should say that it would be hardly fair. I would not say that it would be unpatriotic—for anyone to sabotage the decision which has been taken unanimously by this House.

Shri Sadhan Gupta:<sup>21</sup> No, no.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I think two words have provoked you—sabotage and unanimity—neither of which you like very much.

Shri Nambiar: Then, it is not fair; there is no unanimity.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I think you will yourself indicate how many are against.

Shri Nambiar: We will have a division.

Pandit G.B. Pant: That is the role for which you always stand. You are provoked because this stands for unanimity. You will have division always; division on any decision.

Shri Sadhan Gupta: It is betrayal.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I was saying that all the various units have been bound by a silken tie and we must so handle and tender it that the bond gets strong. Those who may think of creating trouble must feel that when the solution has been so reached, no defiance will be permissible and no defiance will be helpful. Of course, the right of criticism in a democratic country is there, but anything more and beyond that when a national solution has been found by the national Parliament cannot be thought of. I trust that this arrangement will last; if anything tends to break it, it again becomes a vexed problem, and these units will again create the same anguish, the same agony, which we had to undergo during the last many months. So, let us take care and see that nothing is said or done that would tend to weaken the bonds which had been there and which are now being extended a little further. Bombay has been a composite State and it is only the addition of Saurashtra and Vidarbha that is now being made. Otherwise, Bombay for decades has been the centre of national union and it will continue to be so. It will be a big maritime State which will guard our western frontiers adjoining the seas. It will be big and, with its strength and its power, it will go a long way in safeguarding not only the security of the country, but also the rights and the privileges of social justice for which we all stand.

Bombay has been great not only commercially, culturally and industrially, but also in many other ways. We look to Bombay for guidance even today. The torch of nationalism was first lit in Bombay. It was passed on from one leader to another and Bombay has produced great intellectual giants, great

21. Communist member of Lok Sabha for Calcutta

patriots; and how very wonderful will be the performance of this new State when we remember that Gandhi, Tilak, Gokhale, Naoroji<sup>22</sup> and Ranade<sup>23</sup> belonged to Gujarat, Maharashtra and Bombay! With such a galaxy of great men, there will be plentiful, unending and powerful inspirations for those who will have the privilege of living in this big State. I can only express the hope that the scheme as has now been finally accepted will now be worked in the best of spirits, with cordial co-operation and with a determination to make a complete success of it. Unfortunately, during the last few months, the atmosphere has been somewhat surcharged. It will perhaps take a little time for things to settle down to normal; but we have turned round the corner. The trail has faded away and the memories of the tragic unfortunate happenings will have to be wiped out. We will have to settle down to a life of comradeship, fellowship and neighbourly friendliness.

Bombay has just recently, as you were told by our Prime Minister, succeeded in producing atomic energy.<sup>24</sup> This scheme was accepted by the majority of the Members of the House almost on the day on which atomic energy was generated in Bombay. That augurs well for its success. So, let us look forward to a new era of hope, faith and co-operative endeavour. We have to apply ourselves to the constructive activities which alone can raise the stature of the common man in this country. The Five Year Plan is getting on us every day and the discussions on the reorganisation of States have at least to some extent come in the way of its rapid progress. We have to make good the deficiency. We have to see that the progress now is sufficiently quick and that we regain what we have lost in the course of the discussions during the last many months. I hope that this decision will not only help Bombay, will not only prove satisfactory in so many ways so far as these States are concerned, but will also pave the way for greater understanding, for greater unity and for greater accommodation. These are what we badly need today.

There are other parts of the country where too there are small disputes which have not yet been resolved. In view of our success in this big affair, it is earnestly hoped that they too will now be settled amicably by the representatives of the States concerned. Let us at least look forward to the future with

22. Dadabhai Naoroji; b. 1825; professor Elphinstone College Bombay; Dewan of Baroda 1873; member Bombay Legislative Council 1885-87; President Indian National Congress 1886, 1893 and 1906; member British Parliament 1892-95; member Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure 1896; d. 1917; works include *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* and *India's Wrongs and Remedy*.

23. Mahadev Govind Ranade; b. 1842; scholar, author and social reformer; founder-member Poona Sarvajanik Sabha; member Bombay Legislative Council 1885-87 and 1891-92; associated with National Social Conference 1887-1901; judge Bombay High Court 1893-1901; d. 1901; works include *Essays in Indian Economics* (1899) and *Rise of Maratha Power* (1900).

24. The atomic reactor near Trombay, the first in Asia, went into operation on 4 August 1956.

hope and we can trust that Providence will guide us, it will come to our aid, in all emergencies. There was benevolence, if not divinity, behind the solution that had been reached with regard to Bombay and we can hope that if we are faced with difficulties in future also, by common endeavour, we shall be able to work and to get over them without leaving any trace of bitterness, recrimination or ill will behind. When I was sitting yesterday in the Central Hall, I was repeatedly reminded of the three patriots which are there—Mahatma Gandhi and Lokamanya Tilak on one side and Dadabai Naoroji on the other—and I felt that Gujarat and Maharashtra have given us these three great sons of India. So, we will look to them, to this composite State, which has carried the age-old memories of these great patriots, for inspiration, for our guidance and for the progress and prosperity of the country.

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If the hon. Members want me to reply to any particular question, I would gladly do so. I am also prepared to make a few short remarks if they can be of any help to the House. I have absolutely no desire to withhold anything that worries the House or that may enable the House to consider the position of Government with regard to the proposals that have been made. I am entirely at the disposal of the House, and I am prepared to answer anything or to make comments on any point.

I may just make a few remarks about Part II of the Bill, if you, Sir, will permit me. I would not say much.

Mr. Speaker:<sup>25</sup> Yes; before I take up the other groups of clauses, let the hon. Minister answer to points on clauses 2 to 15.

Pandit G.B. Pant: The first thing is about the "appointed day". I have already accepted the amendment of Shri Gurupadaswamy. So instead of 1st October, this scheme which is incorporated in this Bill will be launched on the 1st of November. I do not think it is necessary for me to explain the reasons. In fact, we will have to labour hard even to get through all the preliminaries by the 1st of November. So, that is the reason why I have accepted that amendment.

Certain proposals have been made in the House about the change in the names proposed for certain States. One is that Mysore should be called Karnataka. As the hon. Members are aware, the Mysore legislature wants "Mysore" to continue. We considered this question in the Joint Committee and felt that in the totality of circumstances in which this proposal was embodied in the Bill, it would be advisable to retain the name "Mysore". The leaders of Mysore were somewhat reluctant to join the other districts which will now form part of the bigger Mysore State. Their reluctance was, however,

overcome and they were persuaded to accept this proposal for a bigger Mysore State on the understanding that the name "Mysore" would be retained. So, in the circumstances, it would not be desirable to make any change.

A suggestion has also been made that for "Madras" "Tamilnad" should be substituted. The question was considered by the Madras legislature itself and it did not prefer the name of "Tamilnad" for Madras. So, we have retained "Madras"—the existing name of that State.

About Andhra too, several proposals have been made. The original term that was used in the Bill was "Andhra-Telengana", but in view of the recommendations made by both the legislatures of Andhra and Hyderabad, it was considered desirable to substitute "Andhra Pradesh" for "Andhra-Telengana". I hope all these changes that have been made will be acceptable to the House.

There was also a suggestion that the groupings of the States, such as Part A, Part B, and Part C, should not continue. Of course, we have made it clear throughout that there will be no groupings of the States as A, B and C in future. But we have, for the present, followed the terminology given in the Constitution, and that is why these letters appear. When the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill is passed, then we will have only States and Centrally-administered areas.

The proposals for territorial adjustments exceed 170. Many of them are overlapping. It is obviously impossible for the House to examine these proposals on their merits. No House can deal with these matters of detail in a hurried way. These questions were considered first by the States Reorganisation Commission, and to the extent it was feasible, also by the Joint Committee. I would also remind the hon. Members that the Commission has laid down certain principles which were generally approved by the House, and in the light of the criteria laid down by the Commission, they had carved out these various States. The Commission, in their report, laid down or rather defined these principles with great precision. Ordinarily, they were not prepared to transfer any area on the basis of less than a district. In special cases, for overwhelming reasons, they were prepared to come down to taluks. They had prescribed that so far as linguistic proposals were concerned, they would not make any change where the percentage of the people speaking any language was below 70 per cent. It is in accordance with these principles that the Commission reached its decisions. The Government has followed the decisions of the Commission.

I know that with regard to some of the territorial matters, there is still a strong desire for readjustment. I made an effort in the Joint Committee to secure some sort of an agreement between the Members representing the States concerned. Unfortunately, we did not succeed. Then, similar attempts were also made while the Bill was under discussion in the House, but with no better results. Now, as hon. Members are aware, the zonal councils have been authorised to deal with all these boundary matters pertaining to readjustment of

territories lying on the common borders of the States. I hope that when the States are formed, the zonal councils will meet and endeavour to resolve the disputes, because, after all, the goodwill of neighbours is of much greater value than a small patch of territory; and it should be possible for the States concerned to settle these minor differences between themselves.

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The question of a boundary commission is also not free from difficulties. Even if we appoint a boundary commission, there is a great deal of tug with sometimes more than the necessary amount of vigour and the relations become somewhat embittered. So, it may be perhaps a counsel of despair. Ultimately one may have to do it, but even if the boundary commission reaches a decision, it does not by itself settle the question. The matter again comes to Parliament. As hon. Members are aware, Dr. Mishra's report about Bellary came to Parliament and he received more of brick bats than of bouquets. So, even the findings of a boundary commission need not necessarily prove satisfactory. There may be difficulties even there.

My appeal to the House is this. We have been engaged in a very huge undertaking for the last many months. The country has been subjected to tremendous strain. It requires a little easy time, so that this ferment may subside or evaporate and the tension may be relaxed. There were, in fact, very earnest proposals from prominent Members of this House to the effect that this entire Bill should be kept in abeyance for an indefinite period. If we cannot do that, we can at least for the time being concentrate only on the enormous amount of work that will have to be done after the Bill has been passed and then give a secondary place to the outstanding problems. They must be solved. I do not mean that they should be shelved; they must be solved.

Shri Raghavachari:<sup>26</sup> There should be some agency to solve them.

Pandit G.B. Pant: The agencies are ourselves; we, the Members of this House, belonging to different States, should sit together and solve these problems. But I say that an effort will be made by the zonal councils. At least, there should be enough time for Members to settle down to business and for normalcy to be restored. After all efforts have been made, if really there are some serious problems which call for special attention, the Government will have to take stock of the situation to see what is necessary, desirable and likely to satisfy the States concerned.

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26 K.S. Raghavachari; lawyer and Congressman from 1922 to 1947; connected with several social and educational organisations; Government pleader and public prosecutor 1937-40 and 1947-50; joined Krishak Mazdoor Party in 1951 and elected to Lok Sabha in 1952 from Penukonda (Madras).

Again, I think the question has not been posed in the light of the circumstances which have resulted in the decision that the Government has taken.<sup>27</sup> Bellary has been the subject of adjudication, if we may say so, of investigation previously and when proposals had been made. In accordance with those proposals certain territorial adjustments were made and Bellary was transferred to Mysore. Now, the Commission said that for the implementation of the Tungabhadra project it will be desirable to have certain taluks of it transferred to Andhra. The main purpose was to ensure smooth working of the Tungabhadra project. The matter was considered in consultation with the leaders of the States concerned and after adequate guarantee had been obtained for the implementation and smooth working of the Tungabhadra project, it was considered proper to maintain the existing arrangement. I do not mean to say that everyone must necessarily accept or agree to this view. But I have given my explanation as to why this decision was taken.

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The position with regard to Malabar and Travancore-Cochin, which will now form the units of a composite State, has been determined in accordance with the developments that have taken place in recent months.<sup>28</sup> At present, Travancore-Cochin has no legislature. Its legislature has been dissolved. The President is running the administration of this State. Now Malabar is being attached to Travancore-Cochin on the appointed day. The southern taluks are being transferred to Tamilnad and Malabar is being attached to Travancore-Cochin. Now, Travancore-Cochin having no legislature, the members of Malabar by themselves cannot form a Legislature. We cannot revive the legislature simply by saying that the old legislature will function again. Unless there are fresh elections a new legislature cannot be formed even in Travancore-Cochin, which is a separate State by itself. Now, are we going to hold elections in Travancore-Cochin now and to have general elections again early next year? Nobody would like to have two elections in the course of a few months.

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27 Lanka Sundaram, independent member of Lok Sabha from Madras, had asked why the Government had rejected the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission that Bellary be transferred from Mysore to Andhra.

28. With regard to Malabar which was being attached to Travancore-Cochin, V.P. Nayar, independent member of Lok Sabha from Travancore-Cochin, had asked whether the "persons who immediately before the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly were members of that Assembly be members of the new Assembly."

About safeguards for minorities, I have made the position of Government clear more than once. I do not think it is necessary for me to say more because, as you, Sir, have already ruled, this question will come when the Constitution (Amendment) Bill is taken up. But my anxiety to do so, is reasonably proper and necessary and feasible to safeguard the interests of linguistic minorities is no less than that of any other Member in this House.

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About the zonal councils, as hon. Members are aware, the provisions have been amplified in the Joint Committee. Now, not only the States which are included in a zone can meet and deal with matters of common interest, but two or more zonal councils also can be invited to deal with problems that may affect them. So, the scope of the zonal councils has been expanded and enlarged. There have been various suggestions about zonal councils in this House. Some hon. Members have suggested that zonal councils should be given statutory powers and some others that zonal councils should have also executive powers. I do not want to go beyond what has already provided in the Bill, that is, the zonal councils should, to start with, have only advisory capacity. The States have under the Constitution autonomous powers with regard to matters which are enlisted in the State List. So, we do not want to encroach upon their domain. But, at the same time, we want to have some agency which would enable the States to combine together for their common development and also for promoting a better atmosphere and for settling matters, which might otherwise create differences, by mutual agreement and adjustment. So, at the present stage I think we should be satisfied with the zones as they are formed. Because of this change in clauses 8, 9 and 10 which now will be substituted by a bigger bilingual State for Bombay, all the States that were meant for the Western Zone will now form one State. So, it is proposed that Karnataka should be taken away from the Southern Zone and attached to Bombay.

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So far as the States mentioned in the Bill are concerned, their representation in the Rajya Sabha hereafter has been indicated. As regards some other States such as Assam, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh, provision has been made in the Constitution (Amendment) Bill to enable them to benefit by the rule which determines the quota to be allotted to the different States. Presumably, their representation in the Rajya Sabha or in the Lok Sabha will go up in consequence of the increase in numbers. But they have not been mentioned here, as this Bill does not deal with those States.

The proposal has been made here for setting up a Legislative Council for

the new State of Madhya Pradesh. As there is a strong desire, I am prepared to accept the amendment which proposes the establishment of a Legislative Council in the new State of Madhya Pradesh.

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There is a very keen desire, almost a yearning on the part of Mysore Members, that 26 more members should be added to the number that has been allotted to their Assembly. Out of regard for their wishes, I am prepared to surrender my own views. So, they will have 26 more.

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So far as that goes, we do not want a single government servant to suffer on account of the reorganisation of States. Everyone will, I hope, continue to serve in the bigger State which will now include also the area in which he may have been serving. As to his salary and emoluments, no salaries will be reduced. Whatever salary he may be receiving, even if it be higher than the rates which are permissible in other parts of the States which are now unified with that particular area, the higher salary grade should not, on that account, be reduced.

For the future, of course, every State is free to deal with all matters as it likes. We cannot bind their hands. But we do not want anyone's salary to be reduced on the ground that the level of salary now permissible in certain parts of the States which are now being transferred to the bigger unit are low.

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I think I have answered this point.<sup>30</sup> Malabar will form part of Kerala. It will be governed in the manner in which the rest of Kerala will be governed. When Malabar is merged in Kerala, Malabar cannot have a different set of administrators or a different system of government from the rest of Kerala.

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The seats have been allotted according to a uniform principle.<sup>31</sup> In fact, according to the existing principle, the first five million are allotted one seat per million, thereafter one seat is allotted per two million. When there are

29. An amendment to this effect had been moved by A.K. Gopalan.

30. Pocker Saheb of the Muslim League had asked for a clarification with regard to the constitutional position of Malabar.

31. H.V. Kamath had remarked: "This new national bilingual State has been brought into being, and then on top of this the people are being shot down to accept this; and the number of seats is also being reduced."



three or four separate States, they get a larger number of seats. When they are combined together, they will get less, and that is the penalty which one has to pay for greatness. When you become bigger, you do not claim a greater share but you want to be generous to others. But so far as the existing members are concerned, whatever their number, we will try to accommodate them and, I hope, successfully, and no one will be required to vacate his seat. I do not know how we can depart from the general principle.

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That is the general principle except where the State is very small and where special concessions may have to be given. One seat per million up to the 5 millions and one seat for every 2 millions above that is the general principle. It is neither the ceiling nor the floor. That is the ordinary principle that is uniformly applied in the case of all States in fair divisions.

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I have no intention of inflicting any speech on the House in the course of this final stage. I have already taken up a lot of the time of the House. I had only one intention that I wanted to carry out and I propose to do so now. I am grateful to the House for the way in which it has co-operated with the Government in improving this Bill. In fact, while we were approaching amendments to the clauses of this Bill, whether in the Joint Committee or in this House, for some time all party differences were eliminated and it appeared that all Members were inclined to look at the problems which arose out of this Bill in a rational way on their merits without any prejudice and undisturbed by extraneous considerations. I value that spirit and I cannot but appreciate the assistance which I have received from the Members of various parties in the Joint Committee and here in this House.

I regret to find that still in some minds there is a feeling of frustration about this Bill. The Members opposite have been oppressed either by the sense of our success or their failure. But whatever it be, when I review the situation, I find that we have achieved much more than anyone could have expected from us ten months ago, when the report of the States Reorganisation Commission was published. As hon. Members might be remembering, it was exactly on the 10th October last year that the report saw the light of day and it is just on the 10th August this year that we are reaching almost the end of the journey, so far as this august House is concerned.

Look at the picture and see really if the proposals that we have made do not satisfy the people of the country or the inhabitants of the States concerned. Let us start from the South. Someone mentioned Tamil Nad. Is there any sense of dissatisfaction anywhere in Tamil Nad?

Shri A. K. Gopalan: What about Gujarat?

Pandit G. B. Pant: Well, you have now shifted your ground from Bombay to Gujarat. We will see the results that will ensue. We thought you had greater interest in Bombay.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: We have even now interest in Bombay.

Pandit G. B. Pant: So far as Gujarat goes, the leaders of Gujarat, every member representing Gujarat in this House, has supported this proposal. Would Mr. Gopalan say that he is a member for his constituency but that he does not represent his constituency and that he should like to offer other people for serving as representatives for the territories which he represents? What is the position of the Member of Parliament?

Shri A. K. Gopalan: What is a bilingual State? If the U.P. members can sign a memorandum about Bombay I can also speak about them.

Pandit G. B. Pant: I do not say that you have no right to speak. But don't go beyond the speech. So far as that goes, I submit that every member of this House has the right to express his opinion about every matter. But Mr. Gopalan said that the opinion of the people of Gujarat should not prevail where Gujarat is concerned. So I say then: should we be guided by the opinion of the Members of Parliament who represent Gujarat or by his opinion?

Shri A. K. Gopalan: I only want to know whether there is any resentment among the people of Gujarat.

Pandit G. B. Pant: So far as the opinion of the people of Gujarat is concerned, I am satisfied that it is in favour of the bilingual State of Bombay. It is merely because the majority of the people are in favour of this proposal that the small, insignificant minority, if any, exploits the immature youths and resorts to other methods in order to overawe the majority and to prevent it from enjoying the privileges to which it is entitled as a majority. Otherwise, one would not go beyond constitutional methods. If one has a majority one would not have recourse to violence. It is only because that one has not a majority in a place that one then takes recourse to methods which are unconstitutional, undemocratic and violent. So, that indicates that the people of Gujarat are in favour of the proposal that is contained in the Bill.

Then there is Andhra which is going to be big now and which had been small so far. Telengana is being merged with Andhra and we will have an Andhra Pradesh. Is anybody in Andhra dissatisfied with this arrangement, even any of the Members sitting opposite belonging to Andhra? Then where is the dissatisfaction? What have we done to create such a furore on the other side?

Shri Gadilingana Gowd:<sup>35</sup> Only about the boundary commission.

Pandit G. B. Pant: I want to learn some of the very savoury epithets used

35. Y. Gadilingana Gowd; independent member of Lok Sabha for Kurnool (Madras).

by Professor Mukerjee,<sup>36</sup> but I will have to sit at his feet, I think, for many, many years before I can swallow even one of them. So far as I am concerned, my vocabulary is, I think, defective as well as mild. But I listened to him with the respect that a professor deserves. And with the knowledge that he has of the language, it is not surprising if he is as familiar with words which we do not know as with words which we happen to know. Shri Chatterjee once said that he had quoted the scripture. I do not know if Shri Mukerjee remembers the adage. He did quote the scripture today, not once, not twice, but a number of times. In which capacity he was doing it he alone knows.

So far as Shri Chatterjee goes, he claims to be a better Congressman than we poor people who have been associated with the Congress for more than 55 years of our life. He claims to know more about the Congress ideology, the Congress policy and the Congress creed than any of us can pretend to know. I am not surprised to see the alliance between Professor Mukerjee and Shri Chatterjee. Opposites attract each other, but when they contact each other, conflagration follows. So, so long as there is some distance between the two still, we should not be afraid of any grave disaster, but if they come closer still, then I am afraid the conflagration may cause disaster not only to others but to themselves because when a conflagration follows, the thing which creates the conflagration is itself reduced to ashes. So, I am not surprised at their coming nearer. Only they must beware of the future and of the danger that lies ahead.

Some remarks were made by Shri Deshmukh. I would not like to reply to his arguments in detail because this is not the stage meant for that, but he referred to zonal councils and said they are not flexible. Can anything be more flexible than a council, the decisions of which are not binding on anybody and are only of an advisory character? What is rigid about it I cannot see. Then he said that the principles that have been laid down in the States Reorganisation Commission Report for the guidance of those who may have to deal with such problems hereafter are not very sound. They may not be. I do not claim to be an expert in these matters, but I know that Shri Deshmukh himself was in favour of a uniform application of those principles, and it was in accordance with his advice that these principles were applied to Belgaum, Karwar, Sapa, Halyal and every other place. So, if we have not changed overnight, we are not very much to blame. We still continue to sit where we were and so our mind continues to work as it did. So, there might be, I think, some difficulty in our undergoing a metamorphosis so speedily.

36. Hirendra Nath Mukerjee; b. 1907; member A.I.C.C. 1938-39; founder-member Bengal Provincial Committee of C.P.I. 1947-49; Vice-President Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress 1948-49; member Lok Sabha 1952-70, and leader of Communist group in the House 1964-67; member National Council of C.P.I. since 1958; trustee Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund since 1964; works include *Gandhiji: A Study*; *Himself a True Poem—A Study of Rabindranath Tagore*, and *The Gentle Colossus: A Study of Jawaharlal Nehru*.

Some friends also raised some sort of objection—a gentle and mild word—to our having settled down to this bilingual formula for Bombay in the course of one or two or three days. We are ever in quest of the right and the true. Whenever we can grasp it we are prepared to avail ourselves of the benefits that can accrue from it. That has been our policy and it will continue to be our policy. We do not wait to condemn a man till he is dead. We like to criticise a man if he goes wrong while he is alive and not after he has been buried and has been in the grave for some years. Similarly, we are prepared to revise our decisions if we find that better substitutes can be found in a day, in two days, in ten days, in twenty days. We are not fascists in our methods. Our Prime Minister ever keeps an open mind and I do not think any other statesman can be found with such a rational attitude towards problems. I myself do not enjoy that privilege I must confess, but whenever in the case of this reorganisation problem we found that a better substitute could be found, we have accepted it readily. Ultimately we are guided by one principle and that is this. We have to serve our people. We cannot afford to perpetuate a wrong if we become conscious of having done a wrong. It is not a question of our prestige. What is our prestige? What is the prestige of an individual or of a dozen individuals? We are here to serve 380 million people. Our prestige lies in our success, in however small a degree it may be, in serving them satisfactorily and in achieving some little success in removing the many hardships and difficulties from which they have been suffering for ages. It is only that ideal which we place before ourselves for the regulation of our own conduct and we will continue to do so.

Some other remarks have also been made here and there, but I do not think it necessary at this stage to reply to every small point. In fact, this is the stage when we have to take a wide sweep of the whole panorama before us that has been unfolding during the last seven or eight months.

We have had many difficult days. We were surrounded by gloom on many an occasion. Light was not visible not only near us but even far away. The sun of reason was clouded. There were mists all round. Luckily, we have got over all that. They have been dispelled and today we start our new career with hope and faith.

We do not suggest, and we are not vain enough to think, that what we have done is perfect. There is no perfection in affairs of life, but we can claim that we have made every effort to reduce imperfection to the minimum degree. And I respectfully and humbly submit that we have succeeded in that effort.

I will only appeal to the people of Gujarat. I will only appeal to the young friends, who are the hope not only of the future but also of tomorrow. After all, the labours of Prime Minister cannot be of abiding benefit to the country, unless the youths who will follow him are worthy of the mantle that they have to carry, and can carry the torch of light forward so that this country may have enlightenment as well as prosperity. So our hope rests on those youths. It is extremely disappointing, it makes one really sad that they should be easily led

away. Young men are by nature emotional. They respond to an appeal for sacrifice. Courage and bravery are their usual characteristics. So, I appeal to them not to allow themselves to be led away like that. It is a matter of immense sorrow to us that the credit of Gujarat, the good name and reputation of Gujarat should have been besmirched by the happenings of the last two or three days.<sup>37</sup> Nobody could have ever dreamt that people in Gujarat could be carried away by their sentiments to such an extent as to have recourse to arson, to assaults, to the burning of public property, to the smashing of street lights and all that. It is a matter of great sorrow to us. We can only hope that the memory of this evil day will not linger, and that there will be no repetition of this orgy of violence again in that great State, to which we have always looked for inspiration and especially for the preservation of truly non-violent, generous and friendly spirit in the entire country.

I appeal to hon. Members now to welcome this Bill with friendliness, with generosity and with a determination to make it a success. A statute that has been passed by Parliament, that carries with it not only the support of many Members of a particular party, but virtually of the entire House, deserves still greater respect than an ordinary Act that may be passed now and then. This States Reorganisation Bill, which, I hope, will soon become an Act, can claim that it has behind it the goodwill, the support and the blessings of the entire House and also of the great leaders outside.

So, let us pledge ourselves to apply ourselves constructively to the implementation of this Bill. And in order that we may succeed in that effort, let us create the proper atmosphere, an atmosphere of charity, of goodwill, of generosity, of friendliness and of comradeship in the country.<sup>38</sup>

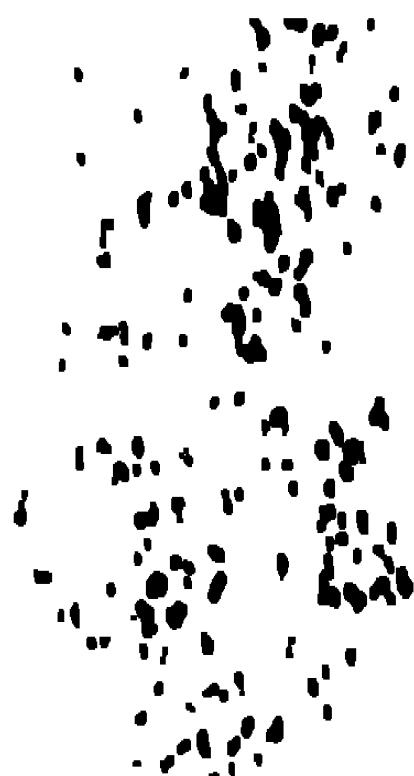
37. In Gujarat, rioting took place at several places, especially in Ahmedabad, on 8 and 9 August as a reaction to the decision of Parliament to make Bombay a composite bilingual state.

38. After this, the States Reorganisation Bill, as amended, was passed by the House. The Rajya Sabha also passed the Bill on 25 August and the new reorganised States came into existence on 1 November.



# REORGANISATION OF STATES

## V. Follow-up Measures





## 1. The Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill <sup>1</sup>

This Bill seeks to make amendments, to a large extent, to carry out the scheme of the States' reorganisation and also to give effect to certain other provisions relating to the High Courts and High Court Judges, the executive power of the Union and the States and a few entries in the legislative lists.

So far as the part relating to the readjustments of boundaries and the formation of new States is concerned, some amendments will have to be made in the Joint Committee, but there are other matters in the Bill which are not in any way affected by the reorganisation of States, like the provision that judges may be appointed for the High Courts for temporary periods or judges acting to fill temporary vacancies. Similarly, there is the provision to the effect that the judges of the High Court, after retirement, may practise in the Supreme Court or in any other court outside the jurisdiction of the High Court in which they had been previously serving as judges.

There are also other proposals, one of them being to the effect that the strength of the Legislative Councils may be one-third of the members of the Assembly instead of one-fourth, which is the limit at present prescribed. There are also other suggestions which will make it possible to have a common Governor for more than one State, and a common High Court. Some of these proposals already find a place in the Constitution but, wherever amendment was necessary to give effect to the decisions to which I have already referred, amendments have been proposed in this Bill.

There are also certain amendments for the setting up of bicameral legislatures in some States such as Madhya Pradesh. There are also proposals relating to other matters which do not come within the purview of States' reorganisation. The States will be competent to carry on any commercial or industrial undertaking about which there seems to be some doubt at present.

Similarly, certain safeguards for linguistic minorities are provided in the Bill. A uniform scale of salaries has been suggested for all High Courts except the three to which I referred just a few minutes ago. There are other proposals, more or less of a minor character, which have also been included in this Bill. I do not think it is necessary for me to take more time of the House at this stage.

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1. Speech in Lok Sabha, 26 and 27 April 1956. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol 4, cols 6474-5 and 6586-93.

Pant had moved that the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill be referred to a Joint Committee of both the Houses consisting of 51 members—34 from the Lok Sabha and 17 from the Rajya Sabha. Pant also proposed the names of 34 Lok Sabha members who were the same as were on the Joint Committee set up for considering the States Reorganisation Bill.

Mr. Deputy Speaker,<sup>2</sup> In this discussion on the motion that I made yesterday has followed the lines of the debate on the States Reorganisation Bill. It looks as though hon. Members, who have not had the opportunity of giving expression to their views when the States Reorganisation Bill was under consideration, have availed themselves of this opportunity for impressing the House with their own considered opinions. But it looks as though we are having more or less a continuation of a debate on the States Reorganisation Bill. That indicates the importance of the subject-matter of that Bill.

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Again, some remarks have been made about the Zonal Councils.<sup>3</sup> The Zonal Councils are not being given any statutory authority and I had given the reasons yesterday. I do not want to repeat what I then said. It was observed that the Zonal Councils and the regional committees do not seem to fit in with each other. I do not see any sort of incompatibility between the two. The Zonal Councils are intended to bring the different States together so that they may exchange views on matters of common interest and reach some sort of agreement if at all possible. So they are of an advisory character, and through the Zonal Councils we expect that some sort of link will be provided for binding the States, that are now being separated on the basis of linguism, together. So, that is the objective.

So far as the regional committees are concerned, they are committees of the legislature consisting of the members of the legislature belonging to the respective regions for looking after certain matters which concern the day-to-day life in the States intimately. It is just like we have got our local self-government bodies. But one might say, "When you have got your local self-government bodies like Municipal Boards and District Boards, then, having the Central Government is something that is not consistent with that". But it becomes all the more necessary to have this—when you have got a bigger body—as an intermediate body. After all, all these arrangements are made not on any theoretical or ideological basis but out of regard for the circumstances in which we have to function and in order to satisfy the aspirations of different sections of the community.

After all, democracy functions to the satisfaction of the people and every step has to be taken which is consistent with the basic fundamentals to give satisfaction to all classes, communities and interests living in this land, so that all might feel the thrill of freedom and join hands in the constructive and cooperative effort which has to be made for the rapid advancement and development of the country. I am sorry that some people in Jullundur Division have

2. Sardar Hukam Singh.

3. For Zonal Councils see p. 90, fn. 17.

not yet fully appreciated the import and implications of the regional scheme. The Government's mind is absolutely clear about the regional scheme as well as about the zonal scheme and there is nothing misty or cloudy about it. The scheme was placed on the table of the House and hon. Members must have seen it. I am really sorry that some of the citizens of the Jullundur Division have not yet come to fully appreciate the merits of this scheme. My own belief is that if they examine it dispassionately they will find that there is nothing in it that should cause them any sort of misgiving or apprehension about the future. It is a challenge to all the people living in the two regions to sink their petty differences and prejudices that have grown in the course of the last 10 or 20 years and to realise that the welfare of each and every one of them lies in making common cause with the other brethren living at least in the particular region to which he himself belongs. We have been hearing of bilingual and unilingual States. But here you see the strange phenomenon of people speaking one language, living in a region in which only a particular language is spoken, if not quarrelling with each other, feeling suspicious, being jealous and having rivalry and distrust as the main feature of their public and perhaps to some extent private life. This has to give way to something better and nobler. It is necessary in their interests and also in the larger interests of the country and I am not without hope. I am fully confident that the friends who still have any lingering doubts will find, after they have applied their minds dispassionately and sympathetically to this problem and to the solution that we have devised for this purpose, that it is worthy of acceptance. If they fail to do so, they will be failing in discharging their elementary duty towards their State and towards the country.

Something has also been said about bicameral legislatures. Some friends here feel that we should have only one chamber in each State and there should be no Upper House.<sup>4</sup> Well, the States are free to make their choice. The essence of democracy lies in giving the maximum freedom to every section that is consistent with the unity, integrity and progress of the country for its own development and for the satisfaction of all its aspirations and sometimes even its vagaries. So, if some people want to have this second chamber, we do not want to come in their way. As hon. Members are aware, under our Constitution, it is open to the Lok Sabha at any time to propose that the second chamber be abolished. It is also open to the Assembly in the States to suggest the abolition of the second chamber, if it happens to be there, in that particular State. So, even if the Council or the Upper House is established in any State, it is an arrangement which will last only so long as the representatives of the

4. Demanding the abolition of Second Chambers, Sadhan Chandra Gupta, Communist member of Lok Sabha for Calcutta, had observed that they had been "established by the British to protect vested interests. They were continued by the Congress, and it is high time that they should be abolished." Keshav Iengar, also made a similar demand.



# THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

## I. Constitutional Amendments

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## 1. Constitutional Amendment for Acquisition of Property in Public Interest <sup>1</sup>

I had the privilege of moving the preliminary motion for the reference of the Bill, as introduced in the Lok Sabha, to a Joint Select Committee, about a month ago on the 19th of March. The Joint Select Committee met on a number of occasions and I had again the opportunity of presenting the Report on the last day of the last month. I am happy to place the Bill in its amended form before the House today which is, so far as the changes made by the Joint Select Committee and the Lok Sabha are concerned, in a much improved, if not in a perfect, shape. The Bill is in a neat and tidy form; its body has been trimmed and polished while its tail has been curtailed. Some of the amendments are of substance; there are also some of a purely verbal character....<sup>2</sup>

These are some of the changes. I had expressed the hope, when the Bill was first referred to the Joint Select Committee, that it would be improved. I am glad that my hope has been more than fulfilled. It is not necessary for me to advance any arguments in detail or in an elaborate form in support of the amendments that have been made. I venture to say that all that I said when I made the motion for the reference of the original Bill to the Joint Select Committee goes to support the Bill in its amended form. I might imagine that I was almost preparing the ground for the amendments that have now been made. They only purport to carry out the intentions of the authors of the Constitution. There is a change at the end of article 31 (2) in order that it may be in accord with the spirit and the intentions of the Constitution. The amendments

- 1 Speech in Rajya Sabha, 19 and 20 April 1955 *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. 9, cols. 5097-105, 5298-304, 5367-73, 5382-3, 5390-1 and 5396

Pant had moved that the Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration. The Bill had been moved in the Lok Sabha on 20 December 1954 with the object of amending Article 31 and the connected Articles 31A and 31B. Article 31 guaranteed the individual the right to property and entitled him to compensation if his property was acquired or requisitioned by the State in the public interest. Among the main objects of the Bill were: (i) to fix maximum limits to the size of agricultural holdings, (ii) to acquire and requisition immovable property for the relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons, (iii) to clear slums and utilize vacant and wastelands in towns, (iv) to take over the management of commercial and industrial undertakings in the public interest for a temporary period, (v) to safeguard certain provisions of the Companies Bill already before the Parliament, and (vi) to have State Control over the mineral and oil resources of the country. The Bill was referred to a Joint Select Committee on 19 March 1955 and passed by the Lok Sabha, in the light of the report of the Committee, on 12 April.

- 2 One of the amendments in clause 2 of Article 31 provided that the compensation that might be fixed by the Parliament or the principles that might be evolved by it for the determination of compensation for a property or corporation acquired by the State in the public interest would not be called in question in any court on the ground that the compensation so provided was not adequate.

do not make any real change in the Constitution as such but they bring the Constitution in conformity with what the authors of the Constitution intended and expected it to be. The occasion for these changes has arisen out of certain decisions and pronouncements by the Supreme Court and by some of the High Courts. The Constitution gave the supreme authority to Parliament and the State Legislatures for determining the quantum of the compensation that would be payable for the acquisition of property for public social purposes. That was the intention of the framers of the Constitution. It was thought then—and I submit, rightly—that no court can determine the compensation as it has to act in a circumscribed field according to the formal rules of evidence that might be appropriate in cases of this character. Compensation for acquisition for simple isolated administrative purposes might be determined according to the prevailing market rate for that property. Under the Land Acquisition Act there is a definite and concrete yardstick in accordance with which the compensation shall be determined but where property is acquired for a social scheme of very extensive, prodigious character, it is not possible for any court to determine the compensation that should be paid in such a case. We have to take into account the various factors including perhaps developments in countries other than our own. The history of property, the purpose for which property is acquired, the reasons which have impelled the State to launch the scheme, are all relevant but these do not necessarily come within the purview of the courts. So it was thought from the outset that Parliament alone could have all the necessary material and data for determining the compensation in such cases. Large projects meant for the uplift of the community in general for the fulfilment of the objectives which form part of the process of reconstruction of the new order in the country cannot come within the limited purview of courts and tribunals. That was the intention, but the language did not fully convey it. The courts were in the circumstances unable to carry out the intentions of the authors. It became necessary therefore to amend the language so that the courts might be relieved of the embarrassing necessity of having to interpret the clause in a manner which did not quite conform to the wishes, intentions or objects of the authors of the Constitution. This Bill was introduced in order to get over the hurdles which had been thus created. It was then explained in detail as to why the necessity for such legislation had made it almost obligatory for the Government to bring forward a measure of this type. While the Bill that was introduced in the House was intended to fulfil that purpose, still a certain amount of ambiguity remained in the clause. When the Select Committee examined it, it felt that the room for misunderstanding should be completely eliminated and the language should be made precise and clear so that there may be no occasion for any misinterpretation or misunderstanding in the future. With that object in view these words were introduced, that is, the compensation that may be fixed by the Parliament or the principles that may be evolved by it for the determination of compensation will not be questioned on



the ground that the compensation so provided is not adequate. Adequacy or inadequacy will not come within the field of justiciability. Still the jurisdiction of the courts has not been removed. The courts will have authority to determine whether the compensation in any case is illusory or amounts to a fraud on the Constitution. I personally am confident that no such occasion will ever arise. I may just state that there is no suggestion or indication in the clause itself about any intentions regarding expropriation of property. The clause in fact makes a provision the other way. It says that no property will be acquired or requisitioned except on payment of compensation. A clause which makes it obligatory that whenever a property is acquired compensation should be paid obviously does not in any way countenance the principle of expropriation. On the other hand, it provides the necessary guarantee against expropriation. The question, however, that has to be considered in connection with this proposition is one relating to the quantum of compensation. It is to be frankly admitted that where property is acquired for a colossal scheme of social reform we cannot pay compensation according to the market rate. It is impossible; no State can do it. So what one has to do in such cases is to determine what would be appropriate compensation in the circumstances of the case. The Parliament is supreme; it has supreme authority in countries where no written constitution exists. In the United Kingdom, for example, the Parliament can today pass a law for the acquisition of any property howsoever valuable it be without providing for any compensation for it; similar is the case in other States. Some States, which are not communist either, in fact provide that Parliament may acquire any property without even paying any compensation. But here we lay down that compensation will be paid, but the quantum of compensation will be determined by the Parliament and the Parliament will be supreme. Where such a law is passed by a State legislature, then the approval of the President will be essential; the law will not be operative unless such approval is obtained. That safeguard has been provided so that the vagaries of States in case they are exhibited in any particular case may be curbed and uniformity may be maintained. With this safeguard there is little danger of any misuse being made of the provision that is made in this Bill. It only vindicates the universally recognised principle of the supremacy of Parliament. It maintains the fundamental rights in fact. It does not impair their potency or their efficiency. While accepting this principle, it has been considered necessary to remove some of the items which were included in clause 3 of the Bill. If the language of this Bill is carefully examined, hon. Members will find that it gives a greater guarantee for compensation to a number of people whose property would otherwise have been acquired at least in theory under clause 3 without their being entitled to any compensation whatsoever. The principle now that has been embodied in this Bill applies uniformly to all types of properties. It does not make any distinction between one class and another. The provision as it found place in the original Bill in clause 3 clearly laid down that certain classes of

properties would be exempt from the operation of sub-clause (2) with the result that those properties would, as I said, at least in theory, be acquired by the States without their being under any compulsion or obligation to pay any compensation for them. Agricultural holdings have now been taken out so that they cannot be acquired without the payment of compensation. This is a guarantee which has now been given by the amended clause. Similarly, the original clause provided that a ceiling might be prescribed and any land held by a person above that ceiling could be acquired under clause 3. And, then, that land, too, could be so acquired without anything being necessarily payable for the acquisition of such land. There were other clauses too therein. An undertaking could be transferred without any sort of compensation being paid. That, too, had been taken out. The rights and shares could be extinguished. That has now been deleted. Only voting right with regard to shares might be modified so that the provisions relating to managing agents, treasurers, secretaries, etc. might be put into operation without any difficulty arising out of the voting rights of shareholders. Similarly, there was a provision in the original Bill about the acquisition of undertakings relating to power, light, etc. for which, again, no compensation was necessarily to be paid. That part, too, has been taken out. So, on the whole, this is a more balanced scheme than the original Bill that was introduced. On the one hand, it removes all uncertainties about the interpretation of clause 2, which is the principal governing clause. It lays down that questions about the adequacy of compensation which had been the main bone of contention in the past will not come within the purview of courts. But compensation will be paid. Similarly, it lays down that with regard to the various classes of property, to which I have just referred, compensation will be payable and no property coming within those categories will be acquired except on payment of compensation. It will be noticed that so far as clause 3 is concerned it has also been protected against articles 14 and 19 along with 31. The necessity for that arose out of their being taken out of the purview of article 31. As for article 31, the Supreme Court has held that articles 14 and 19 do not stand in the way of the application of that article, that classification and gradation are both permissible, but when these clauses are taken out of the purview of article 31, then it becomes necessary, also, to protect them against articles 14 and 19. That is the reason why articles 14 and 19 have been mentioned along with the article 31 in this clause 3. I think the Parliament will always try to take a reasonable view. The collective wisdom of the Parliament will do the right thing and will always take a just and equitable view. The Parliament consists of the representatives of the people. It is interested in advancing the welfare of all classes and all communities. We have to work for the establishment of a Welfare State on a socialistic pattern. That is what the Parliament has decided. There are certain directive principles in our Constitution. So, in whatever the Parliament does, it will place before itself the central objective for which it has to function. And it will consistently with those ob-

jectives and principles make every effort to render justice to everyone—to pay to Peter as well as to Paul what is due to either. So, there need be no apprehensions in any quarter.

As I just submitted, we have to be, in a way, sure that while the question of compensation is taken out of the purview of the court, in fact no hardship will be done to anyone. With that object in view, the sanction of the President has been made compulsory for Bills and laws of this character. Sometimes a question has been raised that this provision might bear harshly on small owners of property. That it cannot possibly do. The experience that we have had so far is reassuring. In Uttar Pradesh and also in other States zamindari abolition laws have been framed. In every case the compensation provided for small holders is many times more than that provided for the bigger landlords. In Uttar Pradesh, for example, those with small holdings are to be paid 28 times the net profit, while those at the top will be getting only 8 times. So, there need be no apprehension of that character. Besides, when we have the system of adult suffrage, the wishes of the vast majority cannot be ignored. All schemes are to be carried out for their benefit and advantage. In the circumstances, no Parliament and no legislature can ride roughshod over the interests of smaller holders of properties whose number is reasonably large.

Sir,<sup>3</sup> this Bill I hope will now facilitate the implementation of the various schemes which are in progress today and which have been designed and conceived for the general progress and advancement of the country. It will come as a welcome and handy measure and it will prove helpful to all those who are engaged in this big and inspiring task. I trust it will go out with the blessings of all the Members of this House. When the last reference was made to the Select Committee, there was not a single adverse vote. It was sent to the Joint Select Committee with the unanimous support of all those who voted for this measure and no one voted against it. I hope when it is finally passed, it will have the support of every single Member of this House.

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Sir, I am glad that this measure has been generally hailed with gratification by the Members of this House. But for one or two hon. Members, all the others have welcomed the Bill in the form in which I presented it yesterday. One or two were rather not enthusiastic and they had their doubts and I shall try to dispel them. It has been said that we should not tamper with the Constitution lightly.<sup>4</sup> That principle has been accepted and it is not denied. But what we are doing by means of this amending Bill today is to rehabilitate the Constitution and not to tamper with it.

3 M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar

4. This had been said by Lalchand Hirachand Doshi, Congress member of Rajya Sabha from Bombay.

The spirit of the Constitution, the intentions of the authors should prevail and where the language has been found defective or ambiguous it should be adjusted and revised so that the actual purpose for which the Constitution was framed and the intentions of the authors and the motives which actuated them may be fully borne out. There is no intention of tampering with the Constitution. The instrument that was framed for the purpose has been found defective and we are trying to remove the deficiencies. It has also been said that we are interfering with the fundamental rights.<sup>5</sup> As I said yesterday, I do not see how any clause which lays down that no property shall be acquired or requisitioned except on payment of compensation can be regarded as an encroachment on the fundamental principles or on the rights of private property. If it had said that property will be acquired without payment of any compensation, one could have blamed the Government for it but what the Bill lays down is to the contrary. To that extent it further emphasizes the acceptance of the right of private property. I should like to mention that the concept of private property is not a static one; it has been changing from time to time. In the good or bad old days, slaves were regarded as private property. Some time ago even women were treated as such. But the concept of private property has been changing and now property consists mostly not of money or of any material values but of credit and paper currencies. So, one can easily say that private property is a creature of the State. If there is to be disorder there will be no credit; if the State does not endow certain rights on the subjects then the right of private property is extinguished altogether or is not created at all. So, whatever rights there are, they are the creatures of the State and, if I may say so, of the Parliament which is the supreme authority in a democratic country. We have no desire to interfere with the rights of private property. I personally do not think that it will be consistent with our accepted canons of non-violence and democracy to wipe out the right of private property. We may regulate it; we may control it or we may deal with it in a manner which will just conduce to the welfare of the community but we need not efface it completely. That has never been the intention. I personally think that there will be no malice against any class, whether a small owner or whether a big landlord or a big industrialist. We have no prejudice against any one class. The principle of non-violence is not consistent with the inevitability of class war in which some people believe. I personally think that a man like Jamshedji Nasserwanji Tata<sup>6</sup> is entitled to the gratitude of his countrymen now and we will ever remain thankful to him. So, let there be no prejudice and let there be no malice. What we have

5. Lalchand Hirachand Doshi had said that the Bill "goes too much to interfere with the fundamental rights guaranteed by the original Constitution."

6. B. 1839; prominent industrialist and philanthropist of Bombay; founder of Tata Iron and Steel Company, Jamshedpur and several textile mills; founded Institute of Social Sciences and Institute of Scientific Research at Bangalore; d. 1904.

to do is that our resources should be expended in the just manner possible so that the establishment of the Welfare State of our dreams may be speeded up and expedited. That is the only purpose which this Bill has before it.

Some members have suggested that it will interfere with the jurisdiction of the courts. Well, insofar as the ambiguous language of the former clause (2) of article 31 compelled the courts to exercise the jurisdiction which the authors of the Constitution never imagined the courts possessed, that power the courts will cease to have, but to the extent the courts were actually given any jurisdiction by the authors of the Constitution, the courts will continue to exercise. The need for this arose out of the interpretations placed on this clause by the highest tribunal in this land in a series of cases which arose on this particular clause. There were differences between the Judges and there were inconsistencies between judgements till the last case when judgement was pronounced in *Bela Banerjee's case*.<sup>7</sup> There it was unequivocally held that the compensation that will be paid under this clause should be the full equivalent of the property. It is impossible to carry out any measure of social legislation if the market value for the property acquired is to be paid especially when large schemes of social reforms are to be launched, which we hope to, in the course of the next few years. No State can afford to pay the money equivalent of the property that will be acquired for the benefit of the poorer sections of the community in this land. So, that is conceded by all; even the protagonist of the other view, Shri N.C. Chatterjee, has also accepted, in his note of dissent, that in view of the decision given by the Supreme Court in *Bela Banerjee's case*, it had become absolutely necessary to amend clause (2) of article 31. No one else could espouse a case with greater force; he has done so but he has admitted that whenever schemes of social reforms are taken up in right earnest, it is not possible to pay the market value of the property. It has, therefore, to be accepted that an amendment of article 31 (2) had become unavoidable. That being conceded and it also being accepted that full market value cannot possibly be paid, I think even the least intelligent will concede that no other formula could have been devised than the one which has found place in this amending Bill. It does not say that compensation will not be paid. In fact, we have paid compensation—the Congress Government has paid compensation—even in cases where no compensation was payable under the law. Under the U.P. Zamindari Abolition Act, compensation has been prescribed. So far as the small landholders are concerned, it has been prescribed on a generous scale. All over, the system of graded and progressive compensation has been adopted. Even recently, we have the case of the acquisition of the shares of the

7. In the *West Bengal Cooperative Society vs Bela Banerjee case* and two other cases the Supreme Court had given a very wide meaning to the expression "property" occurring in clause (2) of Article 31 so as to include contractual rights, which had necessitated further amendments in Article 31

**Imperial Bank.** There, again, full compensation in a way is being paid.

So, there need be no apprehensions. The only thing that we want is that the compensation should be appropriate to the circumstances and should be determined with due regard to all factors, some of which at least must necessarily fall beyond the field over which the courts can possibly exercise any power of review or survey. So, in the light of these facts there need be no doubt about the purpose of this amendment. We don't want the big schemes to be held up because of any subtle cobwebs or any prolonged arguments in courts. We want a straightforward method of dealing with really big things and that is what this amendment purports to do. Then, really, can anybody override the wishes of the Parliament? Even if you were to provide that market value should be paid, the market value can be manoeuvred in many ways. I can give an instance, just a real one.

In Uttar Pradesh zamindaris were acquired. Well, the zamindars who owned large estates and paid Rs.20,000, Rs.40,000, a lakh and so on as land revenue—big incomes—would have received a very heavy amount as compensation. So agricultural income-tax was introduced and more than half of their income was taken away in the form of agricultural income-tax with the result that their net income was reduced by more than 50 per cent. So, though the formula was prescribed that eight times the net income would be payable by way of compensation, in fact they were receiving only four times of what they would have received if the agricultural income-tax had not been introduced a year earlier. The agricultural income-tax was at the rate of about 50 or 60 per cent, but it could well have been at the rate of 95 per cent or even 99 per cent. You can always impose taxes according to your will, if you so like in an arbitrary manner. You can prescribe the rents of buildings at a rate which will not even cover the cost of their repairs and the owners may be forced to part with them as they would be converted from an asset into a liability. So let us accept the real truth that the Parliament is the sovereign authority. Whatever rights are possessed, they are really cared for, sustained, accepted and maintained by the Parliament. If you accept this, then let us also accept that the ultimate authority in these matters must vest in the Parliament. But those who say that justiciability has been eliminated are not quite correct. If, as I said yesterday, the compensation is only illusory or if it comes to a fraud on the Constitution, then the courts will have every right to intervene.

Then it was said that the executive has done many outrages. If any outrages have been committed, these were committed before this amendment was thought of. We have not yet passed this amending Bill. So at least this Bill is not responsible for them. It must be due to other causes for which this Bill cannot be held responsible. Those other causes must be remedied and set right. But so far as this Bill goes, it gives no authority to the executive. It gives the authority only to the Parliament and to the legislatures. It will be for them to

frame the laws according to their lights, and I am certain that they will be guided by the basic principles of justice and equity in reaching their decisions and in giving them the sanction of law. If we have no faith and confidence in ourselves, then we cannot run the affairs of this country. If we have faith in ourselves, then we must be wedded to the principles of justice, equity and good conscience, because it is only these which can sustain a State. Ultimately every State is on the pillars of righteousness and so long as we adhere to that basic principle there is no danger to anybody. If we depart from that, then, whatever be the law, there is hardly any safety or security.

Some hon. Members also spoke about the sense of security being impaired or disturbed.<sup>8</sup> Where does the sense of security lie? If you resist the demands of the times, then the false sense of security will receive a shock which will upset everything. In order that the sense of security may be maintained in a really secure way it is desirable that we must adjust our programmes to the requirements of the times. We are living in a dynamic age. We cannot allow ourselves to be lost in the backwaters considering the changes that the times demand. Our laws have to take note of the upsurges which are today noticeable in the country and to see that they satisfy the hunger and the thirst of the soul of India and the hankerings of the people of this land. If we fail to do that we will fail miserably. So, we must take stock of the situation and do what is right.

I do not consider it necessary to take much time of the House. The amendments almost cover the same ground. But before I close I would refer to the story to which Mr. Wadia<sup>9</sup> adverted yesterday. He spoke of a windmill at Potsdam which he saw nearly fifty years ago. He could not find anything near home or nearer these times to quote or to cite. I would remind him of another windmill and it was seen by Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, and there the notable knight tried to fight with the windmill with the result that he and his ass were both badly maimed and mangled.

Prof. A.R. Wadia: That is much older, Sir.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: Well, the windmill of those times did not carry any lesson to Frederick.<sup>10</sup> He was deluded by his own windmill with the result that many evils followed in Germany and Germany had to suffer more than any country in the world. So let us take a lesson from that and learn to be wiser

8 Lalchand Hirachand Doshi had said that the sense of security was very essential for the development of the country, and added that "it would be very useful if the present sense of insecurity that is prevailing in the country could be allayed."

9 A.R. Wadia; director Tata Institute of Social Sciences; professor of Philosophy at Wilson College, Bombay, 1914 and in Mysore University 1917-41; Director of Education Madhya Bharat 1948-49; Pro-Vice-Chancellor Baroda University 1949-52; nominated to Rajya Sabha in 1952

10. Frederick the Great ruled over Germany from 1740 to 1786.

than the Germans under Frederick or thereafter the Prussians have proved themselves to be.<sup>11</sup>

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So far as the amendments are concerned, the first amendment that has been moved really suggests the reintroduction of all the clauses that were included in the original Bill.<sup>12</sup> They were omitted or modified because of the change made in article 31 (2). The attitude of the movers of the main amendment seems to me to be altogether inconsistent. On the one hand, they say that full compensation should be paid to small owners of property. On the other hand, whenever any attempt is made to safeguard the rights of the small owners they suggest amendments which will deprive them of such protection. For example, in (b) we had formerly the words "or in agricultural holdings". The effect of reintroducing these words would be that agricultural holdings could be acquired without any payment being made as compensation. They say that they want small holders to get sufficient compensation. Then I do not at all understand why they want the words "agricultural holdings" to be reintroduced. It goes against their declarations.

Then again if you take (c) there is the amendment where they want a ceiling to be fixed and the land above the ceiling to be acquired. Suppose a cultivator or a *raiya*t has 25 acres of land and the ceiling is fixed at 20 acres, if the excess 5 acres are taken away from him, then they suggest that no compensation need be paid.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: It is not our suggestion. We have not said so. The hon. Minister is taking upon himself what we have not said.

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Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: It is the natural interpretation of the words to which any rational man would agree. What is stated here is this that "the maximum extent of agricultural land that may be owned or occupied by any person or the disposal of any agricultural land held in excess of such maximum, whether by transfer to the State or otherwise", should be brought within the purview of the exception so that the protection that is available now to the acquisition of such excess lands may be denied to the owners of such lands. If any other interpretation is possible, it is open to any person to give it. But I do not see why there should be any heat or excitement over it.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: It is not a question of heat. If you think, Sir, if the hon. Minister thinks that it means that, we are prepared to alter the wording. Let him say whether he will consider our suggestions.

11. After this, Pant's motion that the Bill, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration was passed and clause by clause discussion of the Bill was taken up
12. The first amendment moved by Bhupesh Gupta of the Communist Party related to clause 3 of Article 31.



Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: We are not carrying on a dialogue here, unfortunately. The point is simple enough.

Then the other question is about (d) and there too they want to introduce their amendments. There have been a number of complaints here and it has been said that property has been acquired for the relief of the displaced persons and reasonable compensation has not been paid. The Delhi case has been quoted again and again.<sup>13</sup> Now they want to introduce their (d) again which will deprive the persons, whose land may be acquired for such purposes, of the opportunity of receiving any compensation whatsoever. That is altogether inconsistent and incompatible with the attitude that they have adopted in the earlier part of the discussion.

Similarly about slums and buildings and so on. So I do not at all understand this approach of the Members, who want the small owners to get reasonable compensation. What we have done is this. On the one hand, by amending article 31(2) we have laid it down that the compensation paid need not necessarily be adequate and the question whether it is adequate or inadequate will not be justiciable. On the other hand, we have, by taking out this clause, made it possible for the persons whose property will be so acquired to receive equitable and reasonable compensation. I think there need not be any objection to it especially on the part of the hon. Members who want the rights and interests of the smaller owners to be safeguarded.

The other objection relates to the introduction of the words "in the public interest" in (a). Well, as hon. Members may be knowing, (a) has been taken bodily from the existing article in the Constitution. It is not an innovation. It has not caused any trouble or difficulty so far. So there is no point in inserting words which will create difficulties hereafter. This clause has been interpreted in a particular way and nobody has felt aggrieved on that account. Now if we disturb the language of this clause there will be difficulties created by us for the future. So this amendment is unnecessary and may prove somewhat harmful.

The other amendment relates to the period being fixed at three years.<sup>14</sup> Well, three years seems to me quite a reasonable period. Ordinarily, I think when property is taken for management, three years should prove adequate. But if we introduce the words "three years", ordinarily it will become the minimum period, that is, even if the management can be set right in the course of a year, the tendency will be to have it for three years. On the other hand, there may be cases in which three years may not be adequate enough. So it is better to leave it at that. What hon. Members have to remember again is this that we are not giving any authority to the executive but only to the legisla-

13. S. Mahanty and H.C. Mathur had referred to a case in which, according to them, certain lands were acquired from some villagers near Delhi at the rate of four annas per square yard and given to two private corporations which were leasing them out at the rate of Rs 10 per square yard

14. This amendment had been moved by Lalchand Hirachand Doshi.

tures or the Parliament to make laws regarding these matters. So it is not a writ that the executive can issue. The matter will come before the legislature, before the Parliament and they can determine the period which I hope will be reasonable. So there is no risk whatsoever involved in using the words "for a limited period".

**Shri Bhupesh Gupta:** What about other points? Plantation was mentioned. There are various other points that were raised.

**Shri Govind Ballabh Pant:** As far as other points are concerned, all those were considered in the Select Committee. The representatives of the various parties were there and after giving due consideration to all that they had to say, the Bill was given this form in which it went to the Lok Sabha from where with some slight modifications it has come here. So hon. Members should not be under the impression that their viewpoint has not received due consideration and weight. As to plantations and other things, the simple point is this. When we have provided that whatever compensation we pay will be determined by the circumstances of the case, there is no need for any panic regarding anything. It will be open to the legislature to take everything into account and then to prescribe such compensation as it may consider reasonable in the circumstances of the case. It may be very small. It may be part of the market value. So there is no trouble. That is why we amended clause (2) itself and when that has been done, there is no need to have these included.

**Shri Bhupesh Gupta:** We wanted plantation to be included within the category of estate.

**Shri Govind Ballabh Pant:** I know that some hon. Members wanted plantation to be included. That suggestion was also made in the Select Committee. We considered the suggestion. It was given due thought and after giving due consideration to it, it was felt that when we had amended article (2) there was no point in having such an amendment. So that was not accepted and I still feel that it would not be proper, it would not be wise and no useful purpose would be served by introducing plantation and other things. Again I may repeat that it is not the intention that even in the case of properties included in this clause, no compensation need be paid. It will depend on the discretion of the legislature as to what compensation they would like to pay but all controversies are shut out. Even the question of adequacy or inadequacy will not arise with respect to matters which are included in clause (3). So I do not see why there should be so much of excitement over it. It is a very simple clause. After having passed clause (2) there need be no misunderstanding or misgivings and no misapprehension in any quarter.

A suggestion has been made that the Bills passed by local legislatures should be placed before Parliament.<sup>15</sup> That would be adding to the burdens of

15. An amendment to this effect had been moved by Kanhaiyalal D. Vaidya, Congress member of Rajya Sabha from Madhya Bharat.

**Parliament.** Parliament even now cannot get through its business easily and to have Bills received from 21 States and again considered in Parliament is almost to drive it to an impossible position. It will lead almost to a breakdown in our work here. Besides, the local legislatures consist of responsible representatives of the people. We here have been elected by the members of the local legislatures and so we should not distrust our electorate. It would not be very fair to them and I think we may be said to be in a way the offspring of the local legislatures who can claim the right of parentage and guardianship over us.

Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor:<sup>16</sup> We might be helping them by saying "yes" to what they have said.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: If that is the case they may assume "yes" is always there so far as you are concerned. The President as the Head having considered it may say "yes" or suggest modifications and ask them to reconsider the position. Ultimately we must realise that the brunt of the burden has to be borne by the local legislatures. They have to maintain law and order and they have to implement all the schemes for development and to deal with various other matters which are of an embarrassing and awkward character. In the circumstances, to treat their proposals with an unnecessary amount of distrust would not be fair to them. I agree that the President will always have the advice of the Government at his disposal. He will be told what the Government feels about it and he will give his own decision. The Government will, I think, ordinarily reflect the opinion of Parliament. So the Parliament without having to devote time to this work, which will otherwise take up much of their time, will have the benefit of their views being reflected through their accredited representatives in the executive. I think I have covered all the amendments that had been moved.

Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor: What about No.15, Sir, that only agreements and leases made or given by the Government need be covered by this clause and that private agreements and leases should not be covered by it?

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: I do not see what is meant by private agreement or public agreement. If it means any agreement which comes in the way of nationalisation of the mines in case the Government wants to nationalise them or take them under its control, here again a law will have to be introduced in Parliament. It will not be a hole-and-corner business. When it comes up here, the Bill can be scrutinized and it can either be rejected or amended in any way considered proper. So, why should there be any idea that any danger to equity and justice is involved in these proposals? All that is being done is that the Parliament and the legislatures are being authorised to deal with cer-

16. Congressman of Agra; went to jail several times during the freedom movement; president Sainik Newspaper Trust Agra; member Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament 1946-52; elected to Rajya Sabha in 1952.

tain matters. If that is realised, there is no ground for any sort of apprehension or for any misapprehension whatsoever.

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Sir, I think Mr. Mahanty is referring to the Delhi case again that seems to be in his mind.<sup>17</sup> Well, I have received a report about that case. I will show it to him, although it is a confidential document, and if he suggests any further course of action, I shall give every thought to his proposal. It is just possible that after seeing the report he may revise his opinion and may feel that what has been brought to his notice is not the whole of the truth and does not cover the entire ground. But, in any case, I do want justice to be done to every single individual. This should also be remembered that although the law that we are making today will make the question of adequacy and inadequacy non-justiciable under the law, whatever compensation is allowed will be justiciable, so far as the individuals are concerned. It will always be open to them to go to court and to claim the compensation to which they are entitled under the law framed by Parliament or by the legislatures. So, there is no question of any injustice being done to individuals. The question whether the law itself is fair or not is for the legislature to determine. But where the individuals' rights are concerned, they will certainly be justiciable, and an appeal will lie to the courts, and it will be open to the person aggrieved to approach the authority concerned, which will, in all cases, ordinarily be some judicial tribunal for adequate redress. But so far as the particular case is concerned, I shall be glad to show the report to Mr. Mahanty.<sup>18</sup>

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Sir, I don't propose to inflict any speech on the House. I would, however, be failing in my duty if I refrain from thanking them for their co-operative spirit. It is a unique achievement. All the clauses of the Bill have been passed unanimously without a single dissentient vote. The amendment of the Constitution is always a ticklish affair and can give rise to very sharp controversies. We have, however, been able to achieve what is rare and I think remarkable in a very good spirit in this Rajya Sabha. I hope this achievement will be enshrined in the annals of the Sabha and will serve to guide us in the future. It indicates in a way that in spite of diversity of approaches, there is an underly-

17. Mahanty had asked whether the Government was going to stop racketeering in land or not  
S. Mahanty; member of Rajya Sabha from Orissa and founder-member of Ganatantra Parishad, Orissa.

18. After this, Jaspal Roy Kapoor and Lalchand Hirachand Doshi withdrew their amendments, and Pant moved that the Bill be passed.

ing unity of purpose. Let us hope that we will, hereafter, *concentrate on things which matter* and not get ourselves *deflected by petty things* from discharging our duty to the great country to which we have the honour to belong. Let us work for the uplift of the downtrodden and the poor and see that everyone here has the opportunity of living a happy and comfortable life.

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I have little to say. I hope the Government will not do anything that will in any way sully the honour of India.<sup>19</sup> The cause of the country will be ever foremost in our deliberations and in our activity. We look at things from a positive and not from a negative angle and we will continue to do so. The interests of the masses will be served by our approach to problems in a spirit of humility and with a genuine desire to do justice to all concerned and to safeguard the honour and dignity of this great nation and this great Parliament.<sup>20</sup>

19 Supporting the motion to pass the Bill, Bhupesh Gupta had observed "let us end this chapter of Constitutional amendments.. with the determination to see that what we have enacted becomes a live reality in the life of the people and that it is the people alone who would benefit from whatever steps we have taken in the correct direction."

20. After this, the Bill was passed by a sufficient majority required for passing a constitutional amendment Bill. The Bill received the President's assent on 27 April 1955

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# THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

## II. Legislation





## 1. Indian Citizenship<sup>1</sup>

The Bill to which this motion relates is of an important character.<sup>2</sup> The subject not only relates to citizenship, but it has also wider bearings. While the citizens of this land will be acquiring all the rights and privileges which flow from this status which is cherished highly everywhere, the Bill also allows others, in special circumstances, to acquire a similar status. All rights in the State flow from citizenship, and it has far-reaching consequences. So, the Bill which prescribes the methods of acquisition and renunciation, termination and deprivation of citizenship rights deserves very careful consideration. I would appeal to the House to give it a very serious thought, so that if there are any defects in it, they may be removed and the Bill may be as perfect as it can possibly be.

The right of citizenship, so far as we are concerned, has started only with the advent of independence. In the olden days when we were under foreign rule, we had virtually no such right; we were governed nominally and ostensibly by the British Citizenship and Alien Rights Act of 1914. That Act was modified later and it was repealed in 1948. But under that Act we could only be the subjects of a foreign Crown, with the result that we were subject to all liabilities which are associated with subjection, but enjoyed hardly any privilege. That continued to be the position, as I said, till 1947.

In our own country we had no law of citizenship. Only an insignificant Act relating to naturalisation was passed in 1928 which was meant more for the benefit of persons coming here from abroad than for our own. Apart from that, no law relating to registration or naturalisation or otherwise was ever adopted in our own country. So, when we started with a clean slate on the accomplishment of independence, we had no law of citizenship. The Constituent Assembly looked into this matter and for days and days the question was considered by the authors of the Constitution very carefully and very closely. As a result of such consideration, Part II of the Constitution which consists of clauses 5 to 11 was enacted. Under those clauses a person could acquire the right of citizenship if he was born in India, if either of his parents was born in India or if that person had resided in India for five years or more provided such person had fulfilled the conditions of domicile. That was the main clause. But it was primarily concerned with the people who had come from Pakistan. So, the provision was made that persons whose parents or grandparents had been born in the territory which was included in Pakistan would

1. Speech in Lok Sabha, 5 and 9 August 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 5, cols 9461–7 and 9732–48.
2. Pant had moved that the Citizenship Bill which provided for the "acquisition and termination of Indian citizenship" be referred to a Joint Committee of both the Houses.

be given the status of citizenship of India if they came to India before 19th July, 1948. So, large numbers of displaced persons were given this right. Persons who had come after 19th July 1948, provided they belonged to Indian origin, were also to be deemed to be citizens of India, but they had to register themselves as such but they should have, before such registration, stayed here for at least six months. There was another provision under which persons migrating from Pakistan under a certificate allowing their permanent stay in India, provided such persons were of Indian origin, could also be registered as citizens of India. Besides these, persons living in other countries, but either of whose parents, grandparents or great grandparents had been Indian citizens, were entitled to seek registration at the Indian Consulate and to be treated as such. These were the provisions incorporated in the Constitution. But they were not comprehensive and they related mainly to the date of the commencement of the Constitution.

The Constitution itself, in article 10 and by virtue of Entry No. 17 in the Union List, contemplated some legislation of the type that we are now attempting to get passed by the Parliament. Under the Constitution, Parliament was not only authorised, but expected, to pass the law—an elaborate and complete one for regulating the subject of acquisition and termination of the rights of citizenship. Since then, there has been some delay. We have been living almost in a vacuum. Many children have been born in the country and large numbers have also come from Pakistan who have to be given the status of Indian citizenship. There has been some delay, but it has not been as great as was the case in America. When the American Constitution was passed, the word "citizen" was used in the Constitution, but there was no definition of the word, nor was any provision made for acquisition of citizenship. It was many years later, in 1868, that by the Fourteenth Amendment in that Constitution provision was made for the acquisition of citizenship either by birth or by registration. So, considering the difficulties that we had to face because of the ceaseless flow of our fellow-patriots from Pakistan and other problems, if there has been a little delay, one can easily understand the reasons and see that it would not have been politic and advisable to take any step earlier. Now things have almost settled down and we can frame appropriate law for this very vital subject.

As I indicated, the law of citizenship covers four points ordinarily: acquisition of citizenship, renunciation of citizenship, termination of citizenship and deprivation of the rights of citizenship. Our present Bill deals with all these. It provides for the acquisition of rights of citizenship in five ways. It may be acquisition by birth, acquisition by descent, acquisition by registration, acquisition by naturalisation or acquisition by incorporation of territory. Every person who is born in India acquires the right of citizenship, whether his father is a citizen of India or not. The mere fact of birth in India invests one with the rights of citizenship of India. That is catholic provision, and it gives

the opportunity to everyone who is born in this country to serve the country. We have only one exception, and that is the exception which is applicable to such cases everywhere and all over, i.e. the persons in diplomatic service who are not subject to the ordinary normal jurisdiction of the country are excluded from this privilege. That is the practice everywhere. This provision is akin to that we find in the British Nationality Act.

As to the acquisition of right by descent, any person who is born outside this country, of a father who is a citizen of India, will have acquired the right of citizenship. If the father has acquired such a right by descent, then in that case the father should have been registered as a citizen in the Indian Consulate. That is the provision for the acquisition of the right of citizenship by descent.

The third provision relates to the acquisition of the right by registration. Now, persons of Indian descent, i.e. either of whose parents, grandparents or great-grandparents was a citizen of India, may be registered as citizens of India if they are living abroad. Similarly, those persons may also be registered who belong to other Commonwealth countries which have accepted the principle of reciprocity and have agreed and decided to admit Indians as citizens in their own country. Insofar as other countries are concerned, even if they belong to the Commonwealth, their citizens cannot be registered as citizens of India under any circumstances whatsoever. Persons who are registered as citizens, their wives too, or persons who are of Indian origin, if they marry one outside, then their wives too, can be registered as citizens. These are the main provisions, and I do not consider it necessary to go into further details about this registration.

About naturalisation, the conditions are given in the Third Schedule. A person should have lived in India at least for seven years, and of these seven he must have spent not less than four years exclusively in this country. He should owe allegiance to the Indian State. He should take an oath of allegiance. He should also fulfil some other conditions. He should be familiar with one of the fourteen languages mentioned in our Constitution; and there are also some minor conditions.

When a territory is incorporated in India, then the people living there would perhaps automatically become the citizens of India. I hope the people of Goa will have the opportunity of acquiring the citizenship of India before long.

These are the main provisions about the acquisition of citizenship.

Then this citizenship may also be renounced if a person of Indian origin has double citizenship. If he becomes the citizen of another country exclusively, or wants to be so, then he may renounce the citizenship of India. This provision had to be made because of certain difficulties that had arisen with regard to Ceylon and also certain other countries. The citizenship can be terminated under certain conditions; if a person who has been registered as a

citizen or who has been otherwise allowed to enjoy this privilege does certain things or omits certain things, then his rights of citizenship can be terminated. The citizenship can also be revoked if a person has obtained that right by means of fraud, or if he had been convicted and sentenced in a criminal case to more than one year's imprisonment. If he is found to be disloyal to the Government of India, or otherwise fails to fulfil certain conditions, then also his citizenship can be revoked.

These are the main provisions. Besides these, there are certain other clauses, but they deal with matters of procedure, and therefore I need not dwell upon them. We have adopted a liberal attitude in framing this law. In some countries, no person whose father is not himself a citizen of the country, even if born in that country, can acquire that right. In some others, dual citizenship is not allowed in any shape or form. We have tried to frame a law which, while fully serving the needs of our country and ensuring the status of dignity which Indian citizenship will carry with it, will also give opportunity to others by registration and naturalisation to acquire these rights. But all these can be done only with the approval of the State, so far as registration and naturalisation are concerned.

There is one important point which we have to bear in mind. Many of our people who had gone to Pakistan or who had to leave Pakistan, though they had been residing there, have come here during this interval. They have to be registered before the next election and it is necessary that the Bill should be passed so that they may be able to exercise and enjoy the full rights of citizenship.

I have tried to give the House, in brief, the summary of the provisions of this Bill and also of the allied matter contained in the Constitution, insofar as it bears on the subject of citizenship. I commend this motion to the acceptance of this House. It will be referred to a Joint Committee, and after this motion has been adopted by the Upper House, we will be able to start with the consideration of the Bill in the Joint Committee. It is not at all a party measure, it is a Bill which affects everyone in this land and we have to approach it in that spirit, and to examine it in a dispassionate and detached way with a determination to improve it, if we can possibly do so.

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This motion for reference of the Citizenship Bill to a Joint Select Committee has been under discussion for three days. Its importance has been recognized by all who have spoken on this matter. I should, if you will permit me, like to congratulate the House on the high level at which this debate has been maintained throughout. Hon. Members who have spoken have taken considerable pains and I have been impressed by the sincerity of their opinion. They have approached the subject in a rational manner and treated the ticklish issues which arise out of this Bill objectively, free from any bias or prejudice. I

have, in fact, listened to the speeches not only with interest, but also with profit. All the points which have been raised here will certainly receive full consideration at the hands of the members of the Joint Committee. I doubt if it will be possible for me to cover the ground fully. I must, however, make it clear that my mind will remain open to the end. Whatever may be the remarks I may make now with a view to elucidate and explain the provisions of the Bill, I shall be prepared for reasonable amendments so that the declaration that I made at the beginning that we should try to improve the measure and make it as perfect as we can may be realised.

Before I deal with the criticisms and comments that have been made. I have to refer to the motion for circulation which has been made by one of the hon. Members.<sup>3</sup> He, for the most time, roamed over the tangled morass and had little to say in support of the motion itself. He has had little backing in the House either. I might point out that the draft Bill was referred to the States before it was finalised by the Government. It was introduced in April. Several months have passed by since. The Joint Committee will have still several months at its disposal as the report is to be submitted on or before the 15th of November. So, the Joint Committee will certainly be pleased to receive suggestions that the Members of the House, who are not in the Joint Committee or others who are outside, may choose to make. This measure has already been delayed for reasons which I had mentioned while moving the initial motion. There is pressing urgency at least on one account. The displaced persons who have arrived after the commencement of the Constitution have not yet been registered and their status has to be formally recognised before the next elections so that they may not be deprived of the valued privilege of taking part in the general elections. So, I hope that motion will not be pressed.<sup>4</sup>

The Bill deals with a basic problem. It naturally deserves very careful consideration. The criticisms that have been made fall under different categories. It will not perhaps be possible to touch upon even the main points, but I shall try to refer to some of the questions which have been mooted in this House with sufficient vigour.

The first and foremost of these, I think, concerns the idea relating to the citizenship of the Commonwealth. It is no more than an idea, as I said. In fact, Commonwealth citizenship only indicates, I believe, the urge for a wider fellowship of nations. Apart from that it has not got much significance. It does not in any case impose any liabilities or obligations on us. The misunderstanding in this connection has to be removed and the misapprehensions allayed.

3. K.M. Vallatharasu, member of the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (K.M.P.P) and Lok Sabha member for Pudukkottai (Madras), had moved that the Bill be publicised for eliciting public opinion on it, and said that since the people were not aware of the importance of the Bill it was necessary to do so.

4. The motion was ultimately withdrawn by Vallatharasu.

Hon. Members might refer to clause 2(b) of the Bill—that is an important clause—and to clause (c) which is still more important. Clause 2(c) says:

‘Citizenship or nationality law’, in relation to a country specified in the First Schedule, means an enactment of the legislature of that country which, at the request of the Government of that country, the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, have declared to be an enactment making provision for the citizenship or nationality of that country,

We have clauses 11 and 12 dealing with this subject and there is also the provision in clause 5 about registration of the citizens of a country specified in the First Schedule. Hon. Members will see that the only thing that concerns any Commonwealth country here is the provision for registration of a citizen of a Commonwealth country. The mere fact that a country is mentioned in the Schedule does not give any right, if it be called a right, or any opportunity to any person to apply for registration. He must be recognised as a citizen by us, by India, of that particular country. Before such a stage can be reached, the condition that is laid down in clause 2(c) should be fulfilled, i.e. the Government of India should declare that a particular enactment that has been passed by the legislature of that particular country is recognised by it. So long as the citizenship law of any country is not recognised by the Government of India and it does not issue a notification in the Official Gazette to that effect, that country does not possess any existence in the eyes of this Act. The Members of this House have been naturally concerned, and I think to some extent perturbed, by the idea that perhaps the South African Boer may be able to seek registration.<sup>5</sup> That is not possible. It was not possible even in the olden days. Hon. Members may be remembering that even under the Naturalisation Act of 1926 this course was not open to them. Then we had the Reciprocity Act under which too this was not possible. But now you will see that unless and until you recognise the citizenship law of South Africa no citizen of that country can come here and seek registration, and such a declaration can be made only at the instance and on the request of the Government of South Africa. Even the Government of South Africa, I think, will not have the brazen audacity and impertinence to apply for such a declaration here. After all that they have done for the harassment and humiliation of our people they cannot possibly muster courage to apply, but even if they do so, of course such an application will never be granted. So, until and unless such a declaration has been

5. Asoka Mehta of the Socialist Party had expressed the fear that since there was going to be a common clause in the Citizenship Acts of all the Commonwealth countries which would establish a kind of reciprocity, it might become possible for a South African to become a citizen of India, while for an Indian it might not be possible to become a citizen of South Africa at least in practice if not in theory.

made, the fact that a country is a Commonwealth country, or a citizen is a Commonwealth citizen of a Commonwealth country, is immaterial and has no relevancy in law. So, there should be no worry about that.

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What has been called the common clause—and that term is used in a technical sense—has been introduced in the Citizenship Acts of certain Commonwealth countries. I am not sure if it finds a place in identical terms in the South African statute. It is conceivable that where countries which come within this fold of Commonwealth are prepared to admit our citizens into their own fold of citizenship, we may agree to have them as such here. But automatically no citizen of any Commonwealth country can become a citizen or can apply for registration. The first initiative rests with us. That is what I wanted to bring to the notice of the hon. Members of this House. It is true that the concept of a commonwealth carries with it the idea that those who are associated with it, whenever they can do so with mutual benefit and advantage, can enter into such arrangements as will do good to the members who are parties to such arrangements. That is there. But it does not carry with it the idea of automatic citizenship. That is the important thing that I wanted to place before the House, because throughout there has been considerable confusion and misunderstanding on this point.

Shri S.V.Ramaswamy:<sup>6</sup> The common clause is not part of the South African Act.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I said so myself. That shows that a Commonwealth country is not bound to have even the common clause; and the fact that we noticed further is that the invidious discrimination which is exercised against the citizens of India in South Africa itself indicates that every Commonwealth country is free to frame its own citizenship law, and nothing that is done by the U.K. is binding on anybody else. That is another important thing which has to be borne in mind.

In this connection there was some reference to the Act of 1948. Before I come to that, however, I should like hon. Members, apart from what I have said with respect to this.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker:<sup>7</sup> Under the circumstances, whatever might be the position with respect to the others, what is the object of including the Union of South Africa in the Schedule?

Pandit G.B. Pant: That is only a description of a Commonwealth country, and so long as South Africa is within the Commonwealth, you have to include it in the description of Commonwealth countries. Besides, there is room for

6. Lok Sabha member from Madras.

7. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

sanity for every man and for every country, and we may hope that even South Africa may sometime outgrow its stage of insanity and behave in a mature and wise way.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:<sup>8</sup> Why not leave it open for the whole world?

Pandit G.B. Pant: Apart from that, there has been some confusion also about the British Nationality Act of 1948. It has been alleged by some and perhaps felt by others, that every one of us is a British subject. That is not so. No one of us takes an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. We only take an oath of allegiance to our own country. But apart from that, when the Indian Independence Act was passed, it was laid down, I think, in section 6 that:

No Act of Parliament of the U.K. passed on or after the appointed date shall extend or be deemed to be extended to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion.

This was passed in 1947. The British Nationality Act was passed in 1948. It cannot apply to this country unless it is extended to it by this Parliament. Nothing that is done by the British Parliament has any bearing on our own status or on our position here.

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It was passed in 1948.<sup>9</sup> And the Indian Independence Act of 1947 having solemnly laid it down that no act of Parliament passed thereafter would be applicable to India unless the Indian Parliament itself adopted it, it is clear that the Act of 1948 does not apply to this country. It is also perhaps known to the hon. Members that the 1948 Act itself did not say anything about its being applicable to India. It was applied to the colonies and to U.K., but not to any other country. Hon. Members will be interested to hear a few of the remarks that were made by the Secretary of State for Home Affairs,<sup>10</sup> when this Act was discussed in the British Parliament. He said on 13th July 1948:

This country cannot impose a law with regard to nationality upon any other member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Each of them is a distinct sovereign State for this purpose. We can legislate only for the U.K. and colonies, and that is what we are doing.

8. A prominent member of the Communist Party of India (C.P.I.); actively associated with All India Women's Conference in Bengal; founder secretary of Bengal Mahila Atmraksha Samiti; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952, 1957 and 1962.
9. S.S. More of the Workers and Peasants Party (W.P.P.) had observed that Article 372 of the Constitution did assure the continuance of some of the laws passed by the U.K., and that the British Nationality Act of 1948 was one of them.
10. James Chuter Ede, British Home Secretary 1945-51



The same thing is developed in the course of the debates, but that is clear enough, so that they could not, and they did not, legislate for us.

Shri S.S. More referred to the order of 1949.<sup>11</sup> I think he misunderstood its significance, import and connotation. This order of 1949 in fact was passed for the benefit of India. After India had become a Republic, the persons of Indian origin who were in Great Britain ceased to be entitled to the privileges to which they were entitled previously. So in 1949 this order was issued in order to enable the Indians who were in Great Britain to fully enjoy the privileges and benefits which they had been used to in the pre-Republic days. If anything, it conferred a certain benefit and advantage, and did not impose any disability. I think it was due to a misapprehension that he happened to refer to this section, which, if anything, stands to the credit of U.K.

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There was a reference to this Commonwealth citizenship. As I said we have an urge for a wider fellowship of nations. We, in the Congress from the olden days, have been dreaming about a world federation and about world citizenship. That has been our dream. The Commonwealth citizenship, without imposing any burden on us, takes us somewhat nearer to that goal. We need not, however, think that it is of any disadvantage to us. We are really deriving substantial benefits. And I would like hon. Members to remember that we have thousands of our nationals in the United Kingdom today, in business, in industry, in commerce, in professions and in public service. There are about five million Indians in the colonies and in some of the countries which are closely allied with Great Britain.

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We all stand against colonialism.<sup>12</sup>

Shri S.S. More: And yet we recognise it in our legislation.

Pandit G.B. Pant: We cannot shut our eyes not only to the existence of colonies, but even to the existence of reptiles. If they exist, they are there. What we have to consider is whether the large number of Indians who are in the United Kingdom, in the colonies or in other places, and whom we are not anxious to repatriate and bring back to our country, will be benefited by our creating an atmosphere which may be detrimental to them and of no benefit to us. That, however, does not affect any legal position; it may affect the ethical

11. S.S. More had referred to the India (Consequential Provisions) Act of 1949 passed by the British Parliament.

12. Renu Chakravarty had remarked that "the idea of Commonwealth immediately inscribes within it the whole idea of colonialism also."

or moral attitude. So far as this goes, I hope there will be no misunderstanding left in any quarter now.

The other important point, to which reference was made in the course of discussions, related to the registration of displaced persons.<sup>13</sup> That is an important matter. Now, some of the hon. Members have suggested that we should admit the right of citizenship without even registering them as such. Of course, the right of citizenship is there. But it will lead to confusion if there is no registration. Even when the Constitution was framed, it was definitely laid down that all those who had come after the 19th July 1948 would have to be registered, and it was only on such registration that they were to enjoy the privileges and prerogatives of citizenship. So registration is necessary. I do not think that any great inconvenience would be caused to displaced persons because they had to seek rehabilitation, to apply for relief, and arrangements had to be made for their resettlement and other things. So every one of them has to be registered for that purpose too. In the circumstances, registration for citizenship is a much simpler affair.

But there is another question which was also raised in this connection, that so far as the deprivation of right of the citizenship was concerned, the case of the displaced persons deserved special consideration.<sup>14</sup> That aspect of the matter will, I hope, receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of the Joint Committee. Though they have to be registered, they are hardly distinguishable from other citizens of this country. It is a misfortune due to a certain political development, of which they have been the victims. So I would like the possibility of the registered citizens to be classified in two groups: those who have come here as displaced persons and others who are registered citizens. It may be possible to take them out of this deprivation clause altogether so that they may, after they have been registered, continue to enjoy the right of citizenship without any sort of interference, interruption or disturbance. It will be for the Joint Committee to consider that, and I hope the Committee will give thought to it.

There was also some proposal to the effect that deprivation should be a judicial proceeding and not an administrative one. Now, hon. Members are presumably aware that this clause finds place not only in our Bill but in the British Nationality Act, in the Acts of Canada, Australia, even in that of wretched South Africa, and other places. Except in the case of the United

13. Sardar Iqbal Singh of the Congress had observed that there should be no need for registration of the persons migrating from Pakistan to India for a period of at least ten years as the registration of such a large number of people before next general elections seemed impossible.
14. Thakurdas Bhargava of the Congress had criticised the provision in the Bill according to which if a registered refugee was disaffected towards the Government he could be deprived of his citizenship, and asked when a disloyal national of India was not deprived of his citizenship why a registered citizen should be deprived of his citizenship?

States, I think no country provides for a judicial proceeding in matters of this type. But here you will see how many safeguards have been provided in this clause itself. Firstly, the clause rests on the conditions which would entail the extinguishment of the right of citizenship. But even after one has incurred this disability and this penalty, the clause says:

The Central Government shall not deprive a person of citizenship under this section unless it is satisfied that it is not conducive to the public good that that person should continue to be a citizen of India.

Even if a person has incurred this penalty and is liable to be deprived, he will not be so deprived, unless the Central Government considers that his continuing as a citizen will be harmful to the interests of the country. That is a condition which I think should be borne in mind not only in respect of non-citizens, but even of citizens. If their presence becomes detrimental to the interests of the country, then that will have to be curbed. These persons who have acquired the right of citizenship by naturalisation, or in a few cases by registration, have been given the privilege by way of concession. They are not the natural citizens of the country. They have been given certain concessions. If they misbehave, I do not see that there is anything unfair in asking them to choose other fields for their pastures. They need not continue to stay where they cannot find a good field; let them go out and look for this elsewhere. I do not see why there should be any objection to this.

Then it is laid down here that wherever a person so demands a committee will be appointed which will be presided over by a judicial officer. What more can be needed in matters of this type? So, I hope that this clause will be accepted.

There was also a reference to the clause which says that a person may cease to enjoy these rights if he is found to have done anything that is detrimental to the administration of the country by the Government of India.

(b) that citizen has shown himself by act or speech to be disloyal or disaffected towards the Government established by law in India.

As I said, this citizenship is not earned by a man by virtue of his right. It is something of a privilege which has been extended to him. So, if he behaves in a manner which creates difficulties in the way of those who are in charge of the administration, he loses the privilege which was extended to him obviously on the condition that he would behave properly, not only once or twice, but continuously. He forfeits that privilege when he behaves in that manner. In other countries also there is a similar provision and although the words used may be different, they mean almost the same thing.

The Bill deals with acquisition of right of citizenship by birth and it con-

fers the right on everyone who is born in this country. Some hon. Members have suggested that some restrictions should be devised and some conditions should be imposed on a person who is born of a non-Indian father or mother.

We are today working for peace in the world. We have built a stature for ourselves and for our country by our attitude towards world problems. In the circumstances, it would befit our attitude towards these basic problems, if we allowed everyone who is born in this country to acquire the right of citizenship. But it is not altogether an instinct of pious virtue that actuates me to say so. We have our own nationals, many more in other lands than they have in our country. About fifty lakhs of our people are distributed all over the globe. It is to our interest that liberal provisions in this regard should be made in all countries. So, if we give asylum to a few we will be preparing the moral ground for similar treatment for millions of our people abroad in other countries. Looking at it therefore even from the selfish point of view, it is to our advantage and to our interest to have such a provision.

There was some comment made on the clause relating to citizenship by descent. This clause only recognizes descent on the male or paternal side. That is, a person, who is born of an Indian father in other lands can acquire the right of citizenship. It has been asked: why should the mother not have that privilege, if the father is a non-Indian? We in our country have always thought in masculine terms. That has been our attitude towards all matters. We are now trying to change the succession law so that women also may have equal rights with men. But even in countries where such a law exists they have restricted this right only to males. We have taken this provision bodily from the British Nationality Act. There I think women have been treated with courtesy and respect. In our country too in the olden days the highest virtue that one could earn was to be called the mother of the man addressing her. So, that is the sublime status that women occupied as such.

Shri Asoka Mehta: What about article 5(b) of the Constitution?

Pandit G.B. Pant: Article 5 of the Constitution relates to domicile. We have not got this condition of domicile in this measure. If we introduce it we will be shutting out many more than what we would be having by this clause as it is. On the other hand, it would lead to many difficulties too.

We have been reminded by some of the speakers about the complications that arise out of the system of dual citizenship. It does lead to certain difficulties. But we cannot help it. We have to accept it, because we want people born in the country to be treated as Indians and to enjoy the privilege of being citizens of our country. But if we were to give the right of citizenship to persons born of non-Indian fathers, but Indian mothers, then we may have to be prepared for triple or six-fold citizenship. If a Brazilian, for example, marries an Indian woman and gives birth to a child in England, then the child will have three citizenships. He will be a citizen of Brazil, he will be a citizen of India and he will be a citizen of the United Kingdom. And if such a child, when he

grows up and becomes mature is married to another Indian girl and they give birth to a child, not in the United Kingdom but in France. Then there will be a four-fold citizenship. So, I think it is sound to stick to the provision we have.

Shri S. S. More: Will not the Indian before he gives birth to another make his own choice about nationality?

Pandit G.B. Pant: He is not bound to under any law.

Shri S. S. More: He won't get citizenship anywhere.

Pandit G.B. Pant: He continues to be a citizen of all the countries so long as he does not renounce. I would respectfully ask Mr. More to point out the section on which he relies. That is what judges do now. So, I will leave it there.

Shri S. S. More: Clause 9.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I do not think you are right there. That was about citizenship by birth and citizenship by descent.

Then, under this Bill, the wives of Indian citizens, even if non-Indian, can be registered as Indian citizens. Some people said that women should have the liberty not to be coupled with their husbands in the matter of citizenship. Well, there is no compulsion. It is open to a woman to apply or not to apply. If she does not apply for Indian citizenship, she is not bound to do so. They are at liberty to continue as husband and wife and still owe allegiance to two different countries.

There was also a suggestion that just as women can be registered as Indian citizens if they marry Indians, an alien should be allowed to register himself as an Indian on marrying an Indian woman. That would really lead to some monstrosity of the same type which I referred to previously and it is better to limit the scope of such alliances. They are very rare and it is better to let people keep to their own respective affinities than to drive them to corners which are far away, whether they be obscure or whether they be illuminated. We should better keep the company of our own people and live a natural life. So, it is better to discourage these things.

A suggestion was also made that if any person insults the Flag, then he should be deprived of his citizenship.<sup>15</sup> I hope that nobody will be so hair-brained, mischievous or foolish as to have recourse to such a degrading course. We can rely on the good sense of our own people. I do not forget that recently certain declarations were made or intentions were announced by the very advanced leader<sup>16</sup> of a certain party in the South which did affect the honour, the dignity of the Flag. But he did recant it and felt that what he had done was a very vile sort of deed. So, I hope nobody else will ever think of such a wicked act, and relying on the good sense of our people we may not pursue that further.

15. This suggestion was made by S. V. Ramaswamy of the Congress.

16. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker of Dravida Kazhagam.

Something was said about incorporation of territory, and in that connection mention was made of Chandernagore and Pondicherry.<sup>17</sup> I do not think any amendment of the clause is needed because an Act has already been passed by virtue of which the people of these two ex-French settlements will be citizens of India. Only there are some among them who want to retain their French nationality.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Why should they not become *ipso facto* citizens and why should they wait for a notification by executive action?

Pandit G.B. Pant: So long as there is no *de jure* transfer of these territories to India there could be no legal form of citizenship; they are *de facto* citizens even today but we have to wait for perhaps a few weeks or months before we could get *de jure* transfer. They will then be automatic citizens of India.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Will they become automatic citizens immediately the transfer is complete?

Pandit G.B. Pant: That Act is not before me. So, I should refer Mrs. Chakravartty to that Act and then if there is any difficulty I shall go through it with her and see what it exactly means.

I have tried to deal with the main points. I do not consider it necessary to go through the minor ones. After all, what I have said is no more than an attempt to throw some light on obscure points. I hope hon. Members will feel that this Bill has been well drafted and that it will fulfil the purpose which has actuated the authors to give it this shape.

What we are doing today is of considerable importance. The state of subjection was over some time ago but still we and our society have to blossom into the status of full citizenship. That is what we seek to acquire through this Bill. And, I hope the Select Committee will consider every clause with care and consideration so that not only the present generation but posterity and generations to come will benefit by the edifice of new India which will be built on the foundations of this law.<sup>18</sup>

17. A. Krishnaswami of the Commonweal Party had enquired whether the people of Chandernagore and Pondicherry, which were *de facto* parts of India, would be given the right of citizenship after the passage of the Citizenship Bill, and whether clause 7 which dealt with the incorporation of territory into India would have to be amended for it.

18. After this, Pant's motion to refer the Bill to a Joint Select Committee was passed by the House. A similar motion moved by Pant in the Rajya Sabha was passed on 7 September. The Joint Select Committee which was headed by Pant submitted its report in November and the Bill was finally passed in December 1955.

## 2. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 23, 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Your office sent me G.D. Birla's<sup>2</sup> note on Company Law on the 17th. The same day I carefully studied all the points made in it and called a meeting of Pataskar,<sup>3</sup> Shah<sup>4</sup> and Sinha<sup>5</sup> for discussing them. Since then I have received your letter of August 18. It was an agreeable surprise that in view of the very far-reaching and important changes being introduced in the Company Law, the points dealt with by the industrialists should relatively be so minor and trivial in nature.<sup>6</sup> I do not imagine that it would be difficult to find a satisfactory solution for meeting or adjusting their viewpoints as pressed in the note. The only amendment which may cause some embarrassment relates to Clause 292 which prescribes a ceiling on donations for charitable and public purposes and to this we are giving further thought.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

- 1 J.N Papers, File No 373, p.28, N.M M L.
- 2 B 1894, a leading industrialist who was on friendly terms with Mahatma Gandhi and many Congress leaders; president Indian Chamber of Commerce 1924, president Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry 1929, member Indian Fiscal Commission on Labour 1930, member Bengal Legislative Council, attended Second Round Table Conference in 1931 as a representative of Indian business community, chairman All India Harijan Sevak Sangh; awarded Padma Vibhushan in 1957; d.1983.
- 3 H V Pataskar; Congressman from Maharashtra; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; member A.I.C.C.; member Bombay Legislative Council 1926-36, member Bombay Legislative Assembly 1937-39 and 1945-52; member Constituent Assembly 1947-50; elected to Lok Sabha from Jalgaon in 1952; Union Minister for Legal Affairs 1955-57, for Civil Aviation 1956-57; Governor of Madhya Pradesh 1957-65; chairman Assam Hill Area Commission 1965-66; awarded Padma Vibhushan in 1963
- 4 M.C. Shah; b.1894; lawyer and Congressman from Gujarat; member Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament 1946-52, member Rajya Sabha 1952-60, Union Deputy Minister for Finance 1952-54, and Minister of State for Revenue and Civil Expenditure (Finance) 1954-57; d. 1960.
- 5 Satyanarain Sinha; b. 1900; Congressman of Bihar; Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs 1948-52, and Minister 1952-62, Minister for Information and Broadcasting 1963-64, for Communications 1964-67, for Health 1967-69, and for Information, Broadcasting and Communications 1969-71; Governor of Madhya Pradesh 1971-77; d. 1983.
- 6 The Companies Bill which provided, among other things, for the abolition of the managing agency system, the compulsory amalgamation of two or more companies in the national interest and the transference of an undertaking from one company to another was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 2 September 1953 and passed on 22 November 1955.

### 3. Restrictions on Crossword Puzzle Prize Competitions<sup>1</sup>

This bill is simple and short. It does not really call for any elaborate explanation. As its name indicates, it is designed to provide for the control and regulation of prize competitions. This menace has come to the forefront and has assumed really appalling proportions. The question of regulating and controlling prize competitions had been before the Government for a pretty long time. During the interval, the State Governments were consulted and they were all unanimously in favour of legislation more or less in the same form in which this Bill was framed and later introduced in this House.

This system of crossword puzzle competitions has become almost an organised fraud. The runners of these competitions try to allure the guileless people and make large sums of money. There is that inevitable weakness in human nature to get rich quick and easily. So, these competitions hold out such temptations. The poorer the man, the greater is his desire to secure a large sum of money, if possible within a day or two. So, the victims do not belong so much to the richer as to the poorer classes. This system is particularly directed towards impoverishment of the middle classes and sometimes the students also are taken in. The illiterate, uneducated people have little interest in these competitions because they cannot manage to solve the puzzles. It is the literate and the educated people, who are often in difficulty and whose lot is not ordinarily very enviable, who fall into the trap.

The competitions as they are conducted in many places are no better than lotteries. A simple puzzle is published, advertised widely and entries are invited. The puzzle admits of five, six, seven or even more solutions, but those who organise the competitions arbitrarily select one of these and according to the prevailing practice it is open to a person to put in any number of entries. The hope that at least one of the entries may tally with the one selected by the runners induces one to put in as many entries as one can possibly afford, but ultimately it comes to this that there are seven or eight solutions. Of them one is selected and perhaps the one which very few can possibly manage to reach. So, out of these seven, only the man who happens to get that one solution earns the prize. It is like putting six or seven or twelve tickets in a bag and asking a man to pull out one. There is hardly any difference between a lottery of this type and the crossword puzzle competitions. So, it has become necessary to protect these guileless people who are so seduced and tempted.

The business has grown tremendously. I have with me a letter from one of

1. Speech in Lok Sabha, 26 September 1955 *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol.3, cols. 15231-4, 15249 and 15287-92.

Pant had moved that the "Bill to provide for the control and regulation of prize competitions be taken into consideration."



the most respectable leaders in the country, and he says that the menace of the crossword puzzle competitions is terrible. These are the words used by him. And he adds that many young men are driven to madness by their pursuit of this craze which, once they go in for it, possesses them, so that it not only leads to impoverishment, but also has become almost a danger to society. In any case, it causes real widespread demoralisation and the fact that it is mostly the youth of the country who suffer under this system makes it all the more obnoxious.

The Bill provides that no crossword puzzles which are intended to yield a prize of more than Rs. 1,000 in a month will be allowed. Crossword puzzles above Rs. 1,000 will be banned and where these puzzles are intended to secure an award of less than Rs. 1,000 a licence will be necessary and the procedure will have to be regulated. This will meet the case of genuine, *bona fide* competitions by providing a little money which does not serve as a great temptation but can add to the zest of such solutions and such enquiries. So, it has been provided that the prize competitions up to Rs. 1,000 will be admissible, but only subject to the licences which will probably prescribe conditions which will make this practice wholesome and not lead to such consequence as the existing system has produced.

I have before me figures showing that some of the persons who have formed themselves into corporations or otherwise into partnerships have been able to collect about Rs. 40 lakhs in a year. Large sums of money have been collected by way of taxes on the amounts earned by the organisers of crossword puzzle competitions in some States. So, there can be no doubt about the necessity of regulating these competitions.

As will be clear, an absolute ban has not been imposed. It is still possible that crossword competitions may be so managed that they do not lead to any evil results and still give some scope for activity to those who are interested in the solution of such puzzles. So far as these puzzles are likely to be treated as games of skill which call for real intelligence, the law will still admit of such competitions being held, but the evil will have been completely nipped now and the disastrous consequences that have followed so far will not ensue.

The provisions of this Bill have been welcomed by the press generally. Hardly anybody has spoken or written against the Bill excepting, of course, those who are directly interested in what someone has characterised as the plunder of the unwary. So, besides those who have been using this as a swindle for collecting large sums of money from innocent creatures, students, young men and others belonging to the middle classes, there is hardly anyone who has his sympathy with those who have been indulging in this practice.

So, I hope this Bill will be accepted unanimously by this House.

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Since you, Sir, have been pleased to ask me to say something in reply to the arguments advanced by Dr. Krishnaswami,<sup>2</sup> I submit to your orders; but I am interested in getting a correct ruling and not in taking the time of the House myself.

I have listened to Dr. Krishnaswami with amusement and amazement. That is all I have to say.

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We have listened to the speeches of the hon. Members and I am glad to find that the consensus of opinion in the House is in favour of the Bill. Everyone who has spoken has supported the proposal for banning the system of crossword puzzles which is in force today. But there has been some difference of opinion as to the licences of crossword puzzles which are limited to an award of Rs. 1000 a month. About that there is a feeling in some quarters that it would have been better if the ban had been absolute.

In fact, this Bill was introduced after consulting all the States in the country. The original idea was that the limit would be not Rs. 1000 but Rs. 10,000 and that prize competitions of the value of Rs. 1000 or less need not be licensed. Well, I thought that this was rather risky. So, we have brought down the figure from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 1,000 and made an effort to promote prize competitions, even of the value of less than Rs. 1,000—even if it is Re. 1 or Rs. 2—subject to licensing by the State authorities. The whole of this scheme should be taken together.

Up to this time there was no allegation about the maintenance of accounts. There was a lot of most obnoxious and despicable type of organised fraud in this matter. It was abominable in a way because there was no system of accounting previously. As the system is being worked today it is nothing but a gamble and men are tempted by large prizes that are announced by the runners of these competitions. I have got some illustrations with me. You put a figure of Rs. 1 lakh or Rs. 2 lakhs or Rs. 3 lakhs at the top and say "Contribute four annas and earn three lakhs!" Well, many are likely to be seduced by such offers. But if the amount is reduced to one thousand rupees, the sting is taken out, and the poison is no longer there.

We are not committed even to this one thousand rupees. If after some experience we find that the swindle which has been going on has not been altogether erased or mitigated to a large extent, then we will come forward with a Bill for omitting this amount of one thousand too and imposing an absolute ban.

2. A. Krishnaswami of the Commonweal Party had argued that the Bill could not be discussed in the House as it was still to be decided by the Supreme Court, in an appeal filed by the Bombay Government whether the subject-matter of the Bill lay "within the State field or outside it."

But the scheme of this Bill permits the system of the element of gambling. It will be only under a licence that even these prize competitions up to one thousand rupees will be allowed. The conditions of the licence will be such that I hope the offers will not be made in such a loose manner and that proper care will be taken to see that licences are given really for prize competitions which require application of one's mind and with regard to which results depend really on skill and not on chance. If that care is taken, I do not see why there should be a very serious objection to this very small amount that will now be admissible under the scheme of this Bill. As has just been pointed out, the Press Commission also in the course of its enquiry considered this question and it said:

We would also like all such competitions to be banned, but this would be going beyond our province. We refer of course to competitions for which an entrance fee is charged and where winners are awarded substantial money prizes. We have no objection to the publication of puzzles solely as amusement for the reader. Even in the case of purely intellectual amusements, we are aware that the payment of a small award adds some zest to the solving, and the payment of such awards is made by many periodicals whose journalistic standards are high. We would however limit such awards to a maximum of Rs. 500 in any one month.

This, I think, sums up the position. It suggested Rs. 500. We have adopted one thousand rupees, in consultation with all States. So I do not see any danger. And, as I said, if experience shows that our hopes are rather not likely to be realised, or if we find that they have been belied, then we will come forward with an amending Bill. But with the care that has now been taken I may submit that the licences will be so issued that competitions will mainly be centred round games of skill and not games of chance. When that care is taken there is not much to worry.

There were some other matters of detail referred to. Some Members raised, I think, some objection about the Government or the executive authorities having the power to grant licences or to cancel licences. It does not quite fit in with the general attitude of this House. They do not want licences to be given at all; and if any licence is cancelled they should perhaps welcome the cancellation of the licence—because they are not in favour of the system being continued even to the extent of one thousand rupees. So I do not see any reason why the executive should be deprived of this legitimate function which they are expected to discharge. It is their duty to deal with these matters. Licences are, as a rule, issued by the executive, and they are cancelled by the administrative authority. So, especially when the desire of the House is that even whatever little scope has been left had better be withdrawn, then the fear that administrative officers may cancel licences in a lax or loose manner and without

due care should not in any way weigh with them. They want licences to be cancelled, and the more such steps are taken, the better for them from that point of view. So, when they are against licences being given at all—they would not like even one single licence to be given—then if licences are cancelled they should, I think, encourage such attitude and not ask others to interfere and restore the licence. Therefore, I do not see why there should be any worry on that account.

It has been suggested that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee.<sup>3</sup> It is a simple and straightforward Bill. One may like it, or one may dislike it. But there is nothing intricate about it; there is nothing very complex about it. I do not see why the Select Committee should waste any time over it.

Members have almost unanimously accepted the principle of the Bill. Some of them have objected to certain parts of the Statement of Objects and Reasons.<sup>4</sup> But again there, opinions differ. It is sometimes tragic to find people concentrating on one clause of a Bill and attacking that, and others ignoring that clause and attacking what follows thereafter. If the whole of the picture is taken together they would find it quite handsome, and perhaps even attractive. Some of them may be seduced by it! But when they look only at a part of it, the part may look somewhat ugly and sometimes even monstrous. But if you take the whole thing together you will find that, when pieced together in that manner, the picture is not only handsome but wholesome too.

Mr. Deputy Speaker:<sup>5</sup> The hon. Minister has become an artist!

Pandit G.B. Pant: Well, Sir, while you are presiding there, we all try to improve ourselves.

There was a suggestion by Shri Singh<sup>6</sup> about the Bill not being adequate to deal with the papers that might be imported into the country from abroad. I think clause 11 deals with this point effectively. But all the same I am giving notice of an amendment—as the entire House would like this doubt to be removed—to this effect that in clause 11, for the words “in contravention of the provisions of this Act”, the words “except in accordance with the licences given under this Act” be substituted, which will make the position clear. Whether entries are invited by papers published from abroad, if the competition is not under a licence given under this Act, then clause 11 will apply. That will remove.....

3. An amendment to this effect had been moved by M.S. Gurupadaswamy of the Praja Socialist Party.
4. U.M. Trivedi of the Jan Sangh had suggested that paragraph 2 of the Statement of Objects and Reasons be dropped as it created a “sort of difficulty in the application of the law to the various States which have not passed resolutions asking for the passing of this legislation.”
5. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar
6. Tribhuan Narayan Singh; b.1904; journalist and politician; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; General Manager *National Herald* 1940–42; member Provisional Parliament 1950–52; member Lok Sabha 1952–62; member Rajya Sabha 1965–71; Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh for about six months in 1970–71; appointed Governor of West Bengal in 1977; d.1982.

Shri T.N. Singh: This may be considered in relation to clause 15 also. I would draw the attention of the hon. Minister to clause 15 which relates to forfeiture of newspapers and publications.

Shri C.D. Pande:<sup>7</sup> That is more necessary.

Shri T.N. Singh: In the same spirit, as has been done in regard to clause 11, if a slight modification is made in clause 15 also, I think that will strengthen our hands.

Pandit G.B. Pant: We may substitute those words in clause 15 too. It is obviously the desire of all of us that no loopholes should be left; we do not want to be robbed by people from abroad if we are not going to allow it within the country itself.

Doubts have been expressed by some of the speakers whether this Bill is to be made applicable to the entire country. I can give the assurance that every State has undertaken to adopt this Bill. Among the States whose names do not appear in the preamble and which have already passed resolutions are U.P., West Bengal, and others, I am sure, will pass similar resolutions in the course of the next few weeks. So, there need not be any apprehension or anxiety on that account. We introduced this Bill here because this is a matter which should be centrally coordinated, and unless there is complete unanimity all over the country, the purpose of the Bill can be defeated. So, we are not going to leave any part of the country out. We will see to it that this Bill is introduced, adopted and enforced with due care by every State in the country.

Mr. More raised certain legal objections. They are not objections; he made certain suggestions.<sup>8</sup> I do not think it is necessary to enter into legal argument at this stage. We have got the Bill as it is and the Bill has been introduced under article 252. So, the validity of the Bill is not open to dispute or question at all. If at any time there is any difficulty, we will make such changes as may be necessary; but one should not be too sure about the new problems that might arise if another article is introduced. We are at present seeing only certain imaginary defects and thinking that if another thing were adopted, i.e. if reference is made to another clause, it would be better. But when we adopt the alternative course, I am afraid that ingenious and resourceful people might find many more loopholes than they have been able to imagine as existing under the present Bill. They do not exist so far as I am aware; we have consulted expert opinion and we are assured that it is a sound and invulnerable

7 B. 1906; married Shakuntala, niece of G.B. Pant, member U.P.P.C. 1926-36, member A.I.C.C. 1927-35; Private Secretary to G.B. Pant 1937-39 and 1946-50; member Provincial Parliament 1950-52; member Lok Sabha 1952-62, elected to Rajya Sabha in 1962 and 1968; d. 1988.

8. S.S. More of the Workers and Peasants Party (W.P.P.) had suggested that the Bill should be considered under "Article 248 of the Constitution which gives residuary power to Parliament as far as legislation is concerned."

measure and certainly it is admirable so far as its purpose is concerned. I hope the entire House will accept the Bill.<sup>9</sup>

- 9 After this, M.S. Gurupadaswamy's amendment was rejected and Pant's motion that the Bill be taken into consideration was passed by the House. This was followed by a clause by clause discussion of the Bill which was passed the same day with some amendments.

#### 4. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

11th/14th October 1955

My dear Rajaji,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of October 5. I trust you are keeping good health. I appreciate the force of the points referred to by you and in the note accompanying your letter about amendment of the People's Representation Act.<sup>3</sup> They will receive the weight and consideration they deserve and I am taking steps to have thought given to them, and may have occasion to write to you again.

Atmosphere here as everywhere else is surcharged with the reactions caused by the States Reorganisation Commission's report. The coming few months are going to be of momentous significance for the country.

Weather in Northern India is gradually becoming pleasanter and cooler, and mornings are getting deliciously refreshing.

Trust you are well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

G.B.Pant

1. File No. 16(48)/50-PMS, Sr.No. 50B, P.M.O.
2. B.1878; a lawyer from Salem in Madras who joined the non-cooperation movement in 1919; member Congress Working Committee 1922-42, 1946-47 and 1951-54; Chief Minister of Madras 1937-39 and 1952-54; left the Congress in 1942 but rejoined it in 1946; Governor of West Bengal 1947-48; Governor-General of India 1948-50; Union Minister without Portfolio, and then for Home Affairs 1950-51; founder of the Swatantra Party; d.1972.
3. Criticizing the proposed amendment of the People's Representation Act, Rajagopalachari, in his note, had observed that it would not be proper to invest the Election Commission with the power to set aside the judgement of a judicial tribunal debarring a person from being elected to or sitting in Parliament or legislatures of States for six years.

# THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

## III. Services

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## 1. Need for Changes in Terms and Conditions of All India Services<sup>1</sup>

I have gone through these papers. There is voluminous literature on the subject. The questions to which reference has been made in the notes are of great importance. I would not consider it safe in the circumstances to commit myself finally with regard to any of these matters at this stage.

The basic facts do not seem to admit of any doubt. In the olden days the I.C.S. which was aptly called the "Steel Frame" virtually governed the country. It possessed tremendous power and was concerned not only with matters of administration but also with the determination of the general policy of Government. It was, as was appropriately observed by a leading Indian statesman some decades ago, neither Indian, nor Civil, nor Service. It was in the olden days an exclusive preserve of the Englishmen. So its emoluments and terms of service were designed so as to satisfy the needs of the British personnel. When the methods of recruitment to these All India Services were revised to facilitate the entry of Indians, no change in their fundamental character was made and the salient features continued as before. The determination of the salary mainly in the light of the terms that would attract English youths, payment in Sterling, the system of free passages and the extension of the period of leave if it is spent outside India were all retained. Certain changes were made by the Lee Commission<sup>2</sup> and some of the Civil Services were transferred from the Secretary of State's control to the States. The scales of pay of the Superior Civil and Defence Services were reduced in 1931 but the All India Administrative and Police Services were not affected thereby. The members of these Services mainly fall under two groups according to the period of their entry, the pre-1931 entrants being entitled to special privileges. The emoluments of the new entrants to the Central Services are lower than those enjoyed by the older members. On the advent of Independence option of retirement on proportionate pension was given to certain categories of Government servants and most of the British Civil servants availing themselves of this option left this country. The remaining members who are still in service are our own nationals. They are entitled to the benefit of the guarantee contained in Article 314. By virtue of this provision every person appointed to a Civil Service by the Secretary of State is entitled to enjoy "the same conditions of service as respects remuneration, leave and pension and the same rights as respects disciplinary matters or rights as similar thereto as changed circumstances may

1. Note in an official file, 2 April 1956. J.N. Papers, File No. 433, pp. 133-6, N.M.M.L.

2. The Lee Commission—a Royal Commission on Superior Services in India—appointed in 1923 had recommended, among other things, a larger share to Indians in services. Its report was published in 1924.

permit as that person was entitled to immediately before such commencement."

All suggestions made in recent years for a variation in the terms and conditions of service of this class of officers which come within the purview of Article 314 have been resisted, among others, on the ground that the least change in such terms and conditions would amount to a breach of the statutory guarantee which has been given by the Constitution through this article. I have a feeling that undue importance has been attached to this Article 314. I am aware of the opinions expressed by eminent lawyers and other experts. Still I venture to state that this article only embodies the normal practice and does no more than give a legal form to the convention which is generally observed in such matters. The conditions of service with regard to salary, pension, etc. as announced at the time of entry, should not ordinarily be changed to the prejudice of a Government servant later. The principle is sound no doubt; but while accepting this principle one has to remember that in actual practice it has to be applied in a reasonable way with due regard to the circumstances existing at a particular time. Article 314 specifically refers to this aspect and admits the propriety and possibility of reviewing the terms and conditions of service in the light of changed circumstances. It cannot be denied that the circumstances existing in the country today are altogether different from those which prevailed at the time of recruitment of the present incumbents or before Independence. The conditions of service can easily be divided at least into two classes. The more important ones such as those regarding remuneration, pension, etc. should not be disturbed but for very strong reasons. Here again we have two questions, one, relating to the quantum or amount of salary or pension and the other as to the method of payment. Any reduction in the amount would hit the Government employee hard and should be avoided. The method of payment, however, can be varied from time to time without in any way interfering with any right. Rules relating to travelling allowances are altered from time to time and nobody has ever claimed that Article 314 bars such variation. The question of leave comes somewhat in between the two and may be varied to such extent as may be considered reasonable under changed circumstances. Disciplinary matters cover a wide field and rules governing dismissal, removal or demotion should not be interfered with lightly; but with regard to matters which are less important, disparity between services which are more or less allied or essentially alike so far as their functions and duties are concerned can I think be removed and changed circumstances should fully justify such action.

Having made these introductory remarks I will proceed to express my tentative views on the questions which have been specifically put.

- (1) The emoluments of the officers governed by Article 314 need not be reduced.
- (2) Payment need not be made except to the remaining few British

Civil servants in Sterling or otherwise than in our national currency or rupees. Wherever such payment is expressed in terms of Sterling the amount should be converted into rupees at the rate of ls. 6d. per rupee. This rate of exchange has been in force for a considerable period of not less than 25 years and there is little likelihood of any substantial change in the near future. So it would be fair to all concerned to accept this rate.

- (3) There should be no difference in the matter of leave in any respect between the officers recruited prior to or after 1931, whether in the matter of quantum of leave or in respect of leave that may be taken at a time. Similarly there should be no difference in the matter of leave salary whether the leave is spent in an Asian country or outside Asia. The salary when the leave is spent in India should be equally applicable when such leave is spent outside India whether in Asia or in Europe.
- (4) Passage concessions should cease. In the changed circumstances such concessions cannot be justified. Indian officers would not themselves consider it consistent with their national dignity to claim such concessions.
- (5) Overseas Pay also deserved to be discontinued so far as Indian officers are concerned. The reason is obvious. As there are only two non-Indian officers now perhaps some generosity might be shown to them. The withdrawal of their Overseas Pay will virtually result in the reduction of their pay at an advanced age and may cause them some serious inconvenience. I assume that income tax is payable on such pay.
- (6) While all other officers can be compulsorily retired after 25 years' service, the I.C.S. alone are not amenable to this rule. In their case the arrangement is just the reverse. They can retire after 25 years' service if they choose to do so but Government has no authority to retire them till they have completed 35 years' service. As this is a long-standing convention in their case I would not upset it completely but a rule might well be framed to the effect that if the continuance of an I.C.S. officer after he has completed 25 years' service is not considered advisable by Government in public interest such officer may be retired. Before any such orders are passed it will be necessary to give proper notice to the officer concerned and to obtain his explanation. The same purpose might be served if full use is made of the existing rule 53(a) which empowers the State to retire an officer who is found unsuitable for continuance on proportionate pension at any stage. I do not think that anything will be gained by retiring all pre-1931 entrants and then re-employing them. Such procedure will on the one hand be open to

objection and criticism while on the other will not be of any advantage to the State.

So far as matters of discipline are concerned the inherent right of the State to ensure efficient, clean, honest and regular service from every Government servant cannot be controlled by any rule or law. No law can encourage dishonesty, misconduct or negligence. So the State can and will where necessary without in any way infringing Article 314 amend the rules so that effective action may be taken against delinquent or negligent officers. The Home Ministry disregarding the advice of the Law Ministry has decided that the pension of retired officers whether belonging to the I.C.S. or any other Service may be reduced or withheld in certain circumstances.

I will deal with the other part relating to the reorganisation of services later. I might, however, just observe that I do not quite relish the idea of a full-fledged Commission being appointed for this purpose. I think that the I.A.S. are not merely concerned with law and order matters. They have to devote most of their time and energy to developmental work. I would readily concede that their contribution towards the success of our first Five Year Plan has not been altogether negligible.

## 2. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

3rd April, 1956

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Your letter of April 2 about Services.<sup>2</sup> I recorded my views on the connected file only yesterday. I enclose a copy of my note.<sup>3</sup> I think I have dealt with most of the points concerning the old Civil Services. If you agree I can get in touch with the officers concerned and see that action is taken accordingly. No other committee to tackle these problems seems to me to be necessary. The matter has already taken an unduly long time.<sup>4</sup>

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 433, p. 137, N.M.M.L.

2. In his letter of 2 April, Nehru desired that some persons should be appointed to recommend as to what changes should be made to bring the Services "in line with our present outlook and Constitution."

3. See the preceding item.

4. In his reply of the same date, Nehru wrote: "While a Commission or a Committee is a troublesome affair and need not be appointed, the fact remains that the rules governing Services are completely out of date, and in some cases, inappropriate. Some kind of a revision has to take place."

# MATTERS RELATING TO STATES

## I. General



## 1. To Mohanlal Sukhadia<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 14, 1955

My dear Sukhadia,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 6th. I have also seen the papers enclosed therewith. The jagirdars have objected to your referring the matter to me.<sup>3</sup> So I wonder if I am free to take cognizance of the matter in a formal way. That need not, however, prevent me from expressing my personal opinion. I am doing so without prejudice. The amendment that you propose will, I imagine, only enable you to acquire a jagir a year in advance and you will not have to wait for that period after the completion of settlement operations. I have no clear idea of the loss to which you would otherwise be put or the exact amount that will thus be gained by you. The arrangements that were made with jagirdars were then believed to be final. They were the result of a settlement reached freely and voluntarily after protracted negotiations between the Government and the jagirdars. It would look somewhat ungracious, even if it were not open to other objections, if any changes, to the detriment of the jagirdars, are now made without their consent. Besides, the game does not seem to be worth the candle. The jagirdars have on the whole behaved in a decent manner and but for overwhelming reasons I would not like to go back on the terms settled with them whether directly or indirectly. As I have indicated above, I am only stating my present attitude and that too only informally. If you care to pursue the matter further, you can write to me or speak to me when you meet me next.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No 7(234)/51-PMS, Sr.No.52A, P.M.O.
2. Chief Minister of Rajasthan; see also fn. 2, p. 125.
3. A settlement with regard to the amount of compensation to be paid by the Rajasthan Government to the jagirdars following the abolition of jagirdari system in the state in July 1952 had been reached in 1953. The settlement was based on the report submitted by Pant to Nehru on the subject in July 1953. For extracts from the report see *S.W.G.B.P.*, Vol.15, pp.107-22.

## 2. Development of the Andaman Islands<sup>1</sup>

I am glad that the target is not being curtailed. Although I am not fully acquainted with the topographical and physical conditions of the Andamans, I trust that there will not be any insuperable difficulty in the way of 20,000 acres being made available for cultivation.<sup>2</sup> In case a reduction becomes inevitable, adjustments can be made accordingly later. So far 3,000 acres have been reclaimed. I hope progress hereafter will be at a rapid rate. We should be able to bring under the plough at least 5,000 acres in the course of a year. Still I think that we will have mainly to rely on the forest wealth of the Islands for its development. I quite appreciate the point that the persons who have to settle there should be suitable for the exploitation of the forests.<sup>3</sup> I wonder if any working plan has been prepared for the forest areas on an adequate scale. For work of this sort Gorakhpur people will be quite suitable. Gorakhpur labour has been organised well by the Labour Department and it has been doing useful work in several parts. The climate of Gorakhpur would perhaps be somewhat akin to that of the Andamans. So it would be desirable to include Uttar Pradesh also in the list of States from which persons might be encouraged to go to Andamans; people living on the borders of the forest and used to working in them might be given preference.

G.B. Pant

2.2.55

1. Note to Home Secretary. File No.8/1/55-AN, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I  
The Andaman and Nicobar Islands were administered by the Centre.
2. The Home Secretary, in his note, had written that the scheme for the clearance of 20,000 acres of reserved forests and the settling of 4,000 families in the Andamans, started in 1953, was progressing well, but, he had added, the scheme might have to be curtailed if "sufficient extent of land does not become available".
3. The Home Secretary had written that while selecting settlers, it was being kept in view that they should be prepared to work in forests, and added that so far 75 per cent of the settlers had been selected from among the East Bengal refugees and the remaining 25 per cent from the States of Bombay, Bihar, Madras and Travancore-Cochin.



### 3. To K. Santhanam<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 8, 1955

My dear Santhanam,

I have received your letter of February 1 for which I thank you.<sup>2</sup> Since you assumed the reins of administration in Vindhya Pradesh, everything has been moving smoothly and under your guidance notable progress has been made in various directions. The seeds sown by you have just begun to mature and I am sure that we can look forward to still greater and faster progress under your direction. I have some idea of the conditions in which you had to make a start. You have successfully overcome a number of difficulties which would have baffled others. You have effectively curbed and controlled the rival factions and steered the ship of State over troubled waters with your rare tact and ability. I am really afraid that any change at the present stage will not only hamper the advance but may even upset the plans which have already been implemented under your supervision. So I earnestly request you to revise your present intentions and to agree to stay on in Vindhya Pradesh for a year or two more. This will no doubt put you to considerable inconvenience but I earnestly hope that, out of regard for the welfare of the large mass of people of Vindhya Pradesh who are devoted to you, you will be good enough to accede to my request.<sup>3</sup>

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. K.Santhanam Papers, File No.2, N.A.1.
2. Santhanam, the Lieutenant-Governor of Vindhya Pradesh, had, in his letter of 1 February, requested Pant to take early steps to appoint his successor as his term was coming to an end on 28 February.
3. Santhanam replied on 13 February giving his consent to continue in his post till the end of 1955.

#### 4. To B. Ramakrishna Rao<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

March 14, 1955

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,<sup>2</sup>

Certain reports about Hyderabad affairs reaching here make a sad reading. The Congress party is reported to have been riven by differences so much so that these have developed not only into open conflicts but are now being reflected in administration. It is an unseemingly spectacle if inefficient officials take protection of the rival ministerial groups, or seek advantage from their differences. I wish something were done early to end such a state of affairs.

I understand that there is a proposal to merge Municipal Corporation of Secunderabad with Hyderabad. A large section of Secunderabad people is reported to be vehemently opposed to this move. The District Congress Committee, Secunderabad, is also supporting the agitation. I have received a representation from them and the facts given seem to have some substance. I enclose a copy of this for your facility. I hope you will enlighten me in the matter. Even if in the larger interest, it is felt that integration of the two bodies is beneficial, the results will not be satisfactory unless the amalgamation is made by consent of the Secunderabad people. I would not like to place undue strain on you in the present state of your health. In view, however, of the urgency of the matter and the sharp controversy, to which it has given rise, I could not help drawing your attention to it. If I can be of any help, I shall readily comply with your wishes.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

1. A.I.C.C. Papers (IInd instalment), File No. 4300, H.M.M.L.

2. Chief Minister of Hyderabad.

**5. To Ravi Shankar Shukla<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
22nd March 1955

My dear Shuklaji,<sup>2</sup>

I have given thought to your suggestion about the desirability of displaying the National flag on the Circuit House and other similar buildings when temporarily occupied by Ministers. I have also consulted the relevant papers on the subject. I find that this question has already been specifically considered at this end. It was decided that no Minister, whether of the Centre or of a State need fly a National flag on his temporary residence. The rule to which you have referred had been framed accordingly. In the circumstances you may, if necessary, issue suitable instructions.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

File No.28/10/55-Pub. I, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A I

B 1887; eminent Congress leader and freedom fighter; went to jail several times; elected to Legislative Council of Central Provinces in 1922, 1924 and 1926; Minister in Central Provinces 1937-38, and Chief Minister 1938-39; Chief Minister of Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh) 1946-56; d. 1956

**6. To K. Santhanam<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
1st October 1955

My dear Santhanam,

I thank you for your letter of 20th September. I regret that I could not reply to it earlier. I quite appreciate your desire to be relieved of your present exacting charge in Vindhya Pradesh. I am really very grateful to you for having agreed to stay on till the end of this year at my request. You will soon be receiving the report of the States Reorganisation Commission which is likely to affect the future of Vindhya Pradesh. The proposal of the Commission in this regard is

1. K. Santhanam Papers, File No.6, N.A.I.

likely to give rise to a number of problems which could be satisfactorily solved under your guidance. Questions pertaining to the implementation of the second Five Year Plan and the coming general elections will also call for close attention during the next year. In the circumstances we all would feel relieved and reassured if you could revise your plans. I am, however, in view of the greatest strain I imposed on you last year, unable to muster courage to press you to adjust yourself to our needs. Unless the situation gives cause for concern or becomes really difficult I personally will be guided by your wishes. I know that if you can at all do so you would in the interests of public good overlook your personal convenience and personal preference.

I could not hit upon any appropriate method for making a formal announcement at this stage. I do not see that anybody can possibly misunderstand your attitude.<sup>2</sup>

Hope this finds you well.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

2. In his reply of 5 October, Santhanam wrote: "It will be convenient from every point of view, yours as well as that of the people of Vindhya Pradesh, if a successor takes charge from 1st January till the final implementation of the proposals made by the States Reorganisation Commission."

## 7. To Jayaprakash Narayan<sup>1</sup> .

New Delhi

October 7, 1955

Dear Bhai Jayaprakashji,<sup>2</sup>

Your kind letter was received last month. I apologize for the long delay in replying to it. Before writing to you I thought it necessary to see the text of Jawaharlalji's speech.<sup>3</sup> It took a long time to procure it. I got it only a few days back.

1. Brahmanand Papers, N.M.M.L. (Translated from Hindi)
2. B. 1902; a prominent socialist and Sarvodaya leader; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; one of the founder members of the Congress Socialist Party (1934); member Congress Working Committee 1936; prominent member of the Socialist Party and Praja Socialist Party; president All India Railwaymen's Federation and All India Post and Telegraph Employees' Union 1949; led the movement against "emergency" in 1974 and imprisoned 1975-77; played a major role in the formation of the Janata Party which replaced the Congress rule at the Centre in 1977; d. 1979.
3. Commenting on the student trouble in Bihar and police firings at Patna on 12 and 13 August 1955 resulting in the death of seven students and injuries to many, Jawaharlal Nehru, in his

I read Jawaharlalji's speech and the statement given by you carefully and tried to follow them leaving aside personal considerations.<sup>4</sup> How much I could succeed in it I cannot say. However, I do not want to make any comparison between his speech and your statement. But it would be improper on my part if I tried to hide my feeling that I was pained to read your statement not because it was published but to know the sort of reaction that was caused in you by Jawaharlalji's speech. Jawaharlalji and you have had a long-time relationship and you are quite familiar with his basic ideas and nature. As regards the Patna incidents, he has several times said that he is not fully aware of the facts and that unless the inquiry into them is completed he cannot express any views about them. You certainly must be having a fairly good knowledge about the incidents and it is also obvious from your statement that you have been pained by them. But in your statement there are several such things and they have been said in such a manner that had your name not been there I would not have believed that they had been penned by you. It struck me as contrary to your sentient nature and habit of seeing things in perspective. However, I do not intend to go into details. It is only out of the sense of duty that I have dared to make some observations as above.

Whenever I hear about any police firing on a crowd I feel very sad and consider it as indicative of my own failing as well as the failing of the Government and the body politic. Our people are peace-loving and by nature non-violent. But they are perhaps still lacking in discipline and self-restraint. Our independence was achieved after a long time and many people are not yet aware of their duties as citizens and the need for self-restraint. Sometimes even a minor incident assumes a violent form. Mutual confidence between the people and the police is lacking. Our country became independent through peaceful means and not through any revolution or bloodshed. The old form of official structure and administration is still continuing to a large extent. Though there has been a considerable change in the outlook of Government servants, most of them happen to be recruits of the earlier period. The police are also

speech delivered at a public meeting at Patna on 30 August, had condemned the students for "indulging in violence to attain their objectives" and blamed the press, communists and citizens for aggravating the situation.

The trouble had started at Patna on 12 August with some bus conductors beating up the students for refusing to pay the full fare. The trouble spread to Ranchi and Nawada also. At Ranchi the national flag was burnt down on 15 August.

4. Describing Nehru's speech as a "command performance", Jayaprakash Narayan, in a press statement issued on 1 September, had regretted that Nehru "evinced no desire to find out the truth... lost his temper, shouted at the crowd, called the Patna press choice names and denounced the citizens for raising their voice against police *zulums*." He added that when Nehru asserted that "he did not care whether ten thousand or ten hundred thousand persons were shot dead he would not permit dishonour of the national flag he was employing the accents of totalitarianism." In the end he suggested that Pant should appoint a Commission "to go into this whole matter of law and order and police reform."

handicapped in several respects. Their work is quite onerous and sometimes they do not get any cooperation from citizens or the public, which makes the task of administration still more difficult. Sometimes the ability and tactfulness of officers on duty have a special effect. However, if some better method in regard to this could be devised it would be very good.

The Patna incidents are being inquired into by the Chief Justice<sup>5</sup> and I am awaiting his report. In the Indore incident the police had resorted to firing at a late stage, which was commented upon by the Judge conducting the inquiry.<sup>6</sup> After completing the inquiry he remarked that had the situation been handled strictly and suitable action taken in the very beginning so much police firing would have been spared. In another such incident in Travancore-Cochin, the Judge, after holding the inquiry, observed that the satyagraha had led to a breach of law on such a large scale that it was bound to have tragic consequences.<sup>7</sup> So far as the behaviour of the general public is concerned, it is difficult to change it all at once, but whatever improvement is possible by making changes in the Government rules, that should certainly be done by us. In regard to this I consulted several concerned officers in the states who said that appointing a commission for this would be of no avail. However, I am getting the rules examined in my own department. On meeting you I shall talk to you more about this. I shall wait for you to come this side. If I happened to come that side I shall further discuss the matter with you.

With loving greetings and good wishes to you and Prabhavati.<sup>8</sup>

With love,

*Yours affectionately,*

G.B. Pant

5. S.K. Das

6. An agitation started by the students of Holkar College, Indore, on 16 July 1954 demanding extension of the term of the Principal who was due for retirement assumed a violent form and the general public also joined the movement. On 21 July the police resorted to firing which resulted in the death of twenty persons.

7. In Travancore-Cochin the satyagraha movement started on 9 July 1954 by the Travancore Tamil Nadu Congress (T.T.N.C.) demanding merger of the Tamil-speaking areas of Travancore-Cochin with Madras continued for more than a month. On 11 August riots broke out in several towns and at Puthukadla four persons were killed in the police firing, which was justified by Justice Sankaran of the Travancore-Cochin High Court in his report submitted on 13 December after holding an inquiry into the incident.

8. Prabhavati Devi; b. 1906; wife of Jayaprakash Narayan and political and social worker; worked closely with Kamala Nehru during the civil disobedience movement in Allahabad; later joined the Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi; d. 1973.

## 8. Income Tax on Salaries of Jammu and Kashmir Ministers<sup>1</sup>

It is open to the J. & K. Government to meet the income tax charges on the salaries of Ministers from the State exchequer. The amount will not be large and it should not cause them any financial embarrassment. But exemptions from income tax on salaries by the State Government will lead to difficulties and complications. The Secretary intends to explain the position to the Prime Minister of J. & K.<sup>2</sup> and I hope that there will be no difficulty in his arranging matters with him satisfactorily.

G.B.Pant

2.1.56

1. Note to Home Secretary. File No. 11/3/K/55, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.

Commenting on the Jammu and Kashmir Government's proposal that the salaries of its Ministers should be exempted from taxation, the Home Secretary, in his note of 28 December 1955, had written: "I do not think that we should recommend such exemption and would propose to explain the position to Bakshi Saheb."

2. Ghulam Mahomed Bakshi; b. 1907; leading member of Kashmir National Conference; Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir 1947-53, and Prime Minister 1953-63; member Lok Sabha 1967-71; d. 1972.

## 9. To K. Santhanam<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

12th January 1956

My dear Santhanam,

I thank you for your letter of 8th January just received with the detailed note of the progress made by Vindhya Pradesh under your guidance. The perceptible and heartening advance the State made during the last three years under your care and direction has won all-round approbation. In every sphere, political, material and developmental, the State has moved many a step ahead and there is now a stability in administration which was previously not so much in evidence. All this was possible because of the inherently democratic and sagaciously firm approach you adopted to the various difficult and intricate issues which faced the State after integration and the inspiration you were able to infuse amongst all to work for the welfare of the people. It is unfortunate

1. K. Santhanam Papers, File No.2, N.A.I.

that owing to compelling personal reasons you are unable to continue steering the affairs of the State at this juncture, but we have reason to be thankful for your agreeing to remain in office there much longer than was convenient to you. On behalf of the Government and also on my own, let me convey to you our deep sense of appreciation for all that you have been able to achieve in Vindhya Pradesh.

With every hope and wish that the country may have the benefit of your mature experience and public spirited talents for many many years to come,

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

## **10. To Mahendra Kumar Manav<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi

March 11/12, 1956

My dear Mahendra Kumar,<sup>2</sup>

I thank you for your letter of March 4 about Budget estimates of Vindhya Pradesh for 1956-57. It was distressing to note that such differences should have crept in between colleagues in an important and vital matter affecting the welfare of the State. The Cabinet has to work as a team and differences of opinion which naturally arise have to be ironed out by proper adjustment of views. As to your complaint that irregularities have been committed and demands prepared in contravention of the Cabinet decision, I am having the matter looked into.

Yours sincerely,

G.B.Pant

1. File No. 25(40)/56-PM, Sr. No.21, P.M.O.

2. Finance Minister of Vindhya Pradesh



## 11. President's Rule in Travancore-Cochin<sup>1</sup>

Sir, I am thankful to you and also to the hon. Members of this House for allowing me to move this Resolution.<sup>2</sup> It has interfered with the programme chalked out for this session to some extent and that indicates the urgency of the matter with which I am dealing.

The step taken by the President had become imperative and inevitable. I regret that the circumstances, which were not altogether edifying, should have led up to this culmination. I would have preferred the normal course of constitutional administration to remain intact. But, unfortunately, our wishes could not stand the developments that took place in Travancore-Cochin in recent weeks.<sup>3</sup>

Travancore-Cochin is a fine, charming territory which has also some strategic importance. It is culturally very advanced; it stands first in the matter of literacy as it does also in the matter of density of population. But, so far as the establishment of stable democratic traditions and conditions is concerned, I find that it has not been able to make as much of headway and progress as one would have expected. It is still suffering from teething troubles.<sup>4</sup>

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I could not call it an altogether undemocratic method because it might have been so in the olden days when we had no Parliament and the Centre was overshadowed and eclipsed by nominated members. Now, in the Parliament which is supreme in the country we have the cream of the choicest men in the country and the affairs of Travancore-Cochin will be directly under their eye and under their supervision. To that extent, if hon. Members are pleased to take interest in the affairs of the State, it will perhaps have a better deal and greater consideration and more of sympathy than it would have if it had been carrying on its affairs separately in an isolated corner of the country.

- 1 Speech in Lok Sabha, 29 March 1956. Extracts. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol.3, cols 3776-7, 3781-2, 3843-4 and 3850.
2. Pant had moved a resolution seeking approval of the House for the proclamation of President's rule in Travancore-Cochin under Article 356 of the Constitution on 23 March.
3. On 11 March, the Congress ministry headed by P. Govinda Menon resigned as the Congress party lost its majority in the legislature with six of its members resigning from the party in protest against the transfer of five Tamil-speaking districts to Madras. After that, neither the Communist Party nor the Praja Socialist Party, who had the strength of 27 and 15 respectively in the House of 118, could gather enough support so as to be in a position to form a ministry.
4. Travancore-Cochin State came into existence with the merger of the princely states of Travancore and Cochin in July 1949.

So, I trust that the hon. Members will agree with the course that has been adopted—the only possible course which circumstances would admit of. Sometimes there is a tendency to refer to what has happened in the U.K., Canada, Ireland or Timbaktou but those places have not got any provision like Article 357 of our own Constitution. So, any reference to those countries or to any precedents from those countries would be irrelevant. Those countries had not the foresight to have a provision of this character and the authors of our Constitution were wise and shrewd enough to provide for all contingencies and emergencies and this provision here comes to the aid of embarrassed States when they are in a sorry plight and enables the President to manage their affairs so that they may get the healing balm and healthy medicine and thereby regain their lost vigour.

That is our hope so far as the Travancore-Cochin State is concerned and we trust that when the President's rule comes to an end the people of Travancore-Cochin will be better placed and better prepared to appreciate the virtues, the benefits and the benedictions of democracy and proceed in a manner which will guarantee a democratic course of events in their state.

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x

Sir, a number of speeches have been made on this Resolution. I am glad to find that, but for the last speaker, everyone who had the occasion to speak on this Resolution from Travancore-Cochin has supported it. Not only have the Members supported the Resolution but some of them have also declared solemnly that in their view 90 per cent at least of the people of Travancore-Cochin have welcomed this Proclamation and will be glad to make the regime, that is now being ushered in, in every way successful and prosperous. I am thankful to them and I hope the authorities there will be looking to them for co-operation and assistance.

I must make one point clear. Whether it be politics or whether it be democracy, we all have to discharge one supreme duty and that is to see that the common man gets his due and that nobody is made the football or plaything of political intrigue or insatiable ambitions. So, whatever we do we have to bear in mind the interests and needs of the people and to see that they are served. We will not be swerved from that path by any other consideration.

The Leader of the Communist Party spoke of conspiracy when he started his speech. He was perhaps in his element. He is better qualified to speak about conspiratorial and underground methods than I can claim to be, but in this case he seems to have overshot the mark. It was preposterous to connect the Proclamation with the developments that will take place in the month of October.<sup>5</sup> Is it really suggested that the six members of the Congress Party

5. Opposing the resolution, A.K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist Party in the House, had remarked: "I warn the party in power that the results of elections are bound to go against

resigned from the party in order to create a crisis and in order to enable the Rajpramukh to invite the Leader of the Communist Party in Travancore-Cochin and then of the Socialist Party, to keep the offer open for 10 or 12 days only to find that at the end of all the efforts he had no way out but to make this recommendation? Is it really suggested that all this was done with a view to preclude the possibility of the Communists getting any foothold in the month of October in the newly-formed Kerala State? Nothing could be more fantastic and nothing could be more imaginary.

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Sir, the Rajpramukh failed to find anyone whom he could appoint as the Chief Minister for ten or twelve days. He gave ample time. People went about in motor cars. I think, at the speed of 80 or 90 or hundred miles during day and during night, but still they could not show on paper sufficient number at least till the 21st, on the day the report was submitted. So, the Rajpramukh, having failed to find anybody who could bear the burden of running the Government, reported to the President and we here who owe a responsibility to this House and also to the people outside considered it our duty to make some arrangement which would enable the people of Travancore-Cochin to enjoy the amenities and the benefits of democratic rule. I think, so far as that effort goes, it should carry the goodwill and support of everyone. Let us all devote our energies to the betterment of the people of Travancore-Cochin and make the new regime a success.<sup>6</sup>

them. The people of Kerala are bound to give expression to their resentment against the action of the Congress in suspending the legislature and issuing the proclamation at a time when Aikya Kerala is going to be formed on the 1st of October."

6. After this, the resolution confirming the proclamation of President's rule in Travancore-Cochin was passed by 100 votes to 25. In August, another resolution moved by Pant was passed extending the period of President's rule so as to synchronise with the elections in the state, known as Kerala from 1 November 1956, with the general elections to be held in the country early next year.

## 12. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
2nd April 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

There has been some correspondence with the Comptroller and Auditor General as to the general principles which should guide the State Governments in meeting expenditure incurred by them in connection with Congress sessions held in their respective states. It is difficult to lay down any precise rules in this matter.

2. It is accepted that in view of their responsibilities regarding public health, law and order and security the State Governments cannot avoid incurring expenditure for such purposes whenever there is a large congregation of people. But it would be difficult to admit in audit any expenditure from public funds on other items which are not related to these responsibilities. He also feels that Government agency should not be utilised even on payment for the preparation of the site, construction of the camps and other allied activities. If, however, such agency is utilised in special circumstances full recovery should invariably be made.

3. As I have already stated, no hard and fast rules can be framed but the general principles indicated above should be borne in mind. If in any special circumstances any deviation becomes necessary it would be advisable to refer the matter to us here before reaching any final decision. If necessary we could consult the Comptroller and Auditor General. This would leave no room for any criticism or comments in audit notes or reports about the expenditure incurred by the State Governments on such occasions.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B.Pant

1. J.N. Papers, File No.532, p. 220, N.M.M.L.

This letter was sent to Chief Ministers of all the states.

### 13. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

21/23rd April, 1956

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I am returning Mahtab's<sup>2</sup> letter.<sup>3</sup> In view of his deep-seated conviction that Nabakrushna Chaudhury<sup>4</sup> and his associates have been doing their utmost during the last seven years to reverse the policies initiated by him during his stewardship of Orissa in order to discredit him, his attitude towards the present administration can hardly be friendly or helpful. The state of affairs in Orissa may not be quite as bad as he represents but it is not satisfactory. Some of the allegations made in paragraph 13 are serious and you may like to make an enquiry about them from Naba Babu.<sup>5</sup>

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

1. J.N. Papers, File No.438, p.99, N.M.M.L.
2. Hare Krushna Mahtab was the Governor of Bombay at this time  
Hare Krushna Mahtab; b.1899; eminent Congressman of Orissa; Chief Minister of Orissa 1946-50 and 1957-60; Union Minister of Industries and Commerce 1950-52; Governor of Bombay 1955-56; member Lok Sabha 1962-67; d. 1987.
3. Hare Krushna Mahtab, in his letter of 15 April, had written to Nehru, among other things, that the administration in Orissa needed to be thoroughly overhauled, and added that he was "not prepared to take charge of the elections with the administration going on as it is."
4. B. 1901; freedom fighter and founder-member of Congress Socialist Party in Orissa (1934); Chief Minister of Orissa 1950-1956; joined sarvodaya movement, arrested during Emergency; d. 1984.
5. In paragraph 13 of his letter, Mahtab had written, among other things, that the First Five Year Plan could not work in Orissa, crores of rupees lapsed every year because the departments did not move and postings, transfers and appointments were made on considerations other than the need and efficiency of administration. He had added: "I do not exaggerate when I say Orissa administration is for all practical purposes non-existent.... How can Congress remain popular with this kind of administration in hand?"

#### 14. To K. Kamaraj<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 26, 1956

My dear Kamaraj,<sup>2</sup>

I have given thought to your letter of 3rd April about the difficulties which you had to face in securing assent of the President to the Madras Essential Articles Control and Requisitioning (Temporary Powers) Re-enacting Bill. The Bill had received the assent of the President just before that date, so the main problem having been settled, it is not necessary for me to write to you at any length.

The facts as to the course that this legislation took have been correctly mentioned by you. I have made necessary enquiries and find that the Ministry of Law were of the opinion that the provision in the Bill validating penal action by retrospective legislation was against the provisions of the Constitution and that any punishment for acts done between the date of expiry of the principal Act and the coming into force of the new Act would be *ultra vires*. We in the Home Ministry appreciate the difficulties that a delay in the finalisation of legislative measures causes to State Governments and wish to render every reasonable assistance to them in securing the assent of the President to the Bills submitted by them. Where the policy embodied in the Bill is opposed to the policy of the Government of India in regard to the subject matter of the Bill assent is given on the understanding that the State Governments would make suitable amendments as early as might be feasible. Similarly, where a Bill is open to legal objection on the ground of unreasonableness or inappropriateness we merely point out to the State Government the risk involved but do not withhold assent. In the case of such Bills, however, as happen to contain provisions which are opposed to the Constitution, either the assent has to be withheld or the Bill has to be sent back with a suggestion that the offending provision should be modified. You will agree that it would not be proper for the Government of India to recommend assent to a Bill the provisions of which are repugnant to the Constitution. It is possible that the opinion of the Law Ministry here may not always agree with that of the expert advisers of the State Governments, but we have to be guided by the advice we receive from our Law Ministry.

1. File No. 17/15/56-Judl.I, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
2. K. Kamaraj Nadar; b.1903; Congressman from Tamil Nadu; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; president Tamil Nadu Congress Committee 1940-54; member Congress Working Committee 1947-69; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952; Chief Minister of Madras 1954-63; President Indian National Congress 1963-67; d.1975.

## MATTERS RELATING TO STATES

I presume that you will have no objection to the principles enunciated above. So far as I am concerned, as I have already stated, I should, consistently with the basic policy accepted by the Centre, like to expedite matters and to give every reasonable facility to State Governments.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

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**MATTERS RELATING TO STATES**

**II. The Naga Problem**



**1. To Bishnu Ram Medhi<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
4th March, 1955

My dear Medhi,

I have just seen a copy of a letter written to your Governor by Imsong Naga, who has affixed his signature as President of the Langpangkong Sub-Tribal Council, Nagaland. Some allegations about the excesses of police in Nagaland had been made in it. I do not exactly know whether this area is part of NEFA or directly under you. It is a pity that conditions in certain parts of your State continue to be disturbed. It is all the more unfortunate as the Nagas are neither acquainted with the modern ways of life nor have they developed any political consciousness in the sense in which we understand it. They had been a turbulent people and even in the British days there were occasions when, in order to put an end to the Naga raids, Naga villages used to be raided by the authorities in return; their houses were burnt and a sort of terror was created. We would undoubtedly prefer to follow a different policy. Instead of using any force against them in ordinary course we would no doubt like to befriend them and win them over by persuasion and extension of economic aid in the village areas. Repression and terrorisation would be altogether repugnant and distressing to you. I have seen some intelligence reports to the effect that the police have instructions to collect fines from turbulent villagers forcibly and in case of refusal to pull down their houses. I cannot vouch for the veracity of this report. You are, no doubt, the best judge of the circumstances but I have considered it necessary to draw your attention to the subject as I myself feel distressed over what is happening in these Naga areas. If you find it convenient you may let me know the existing state of affairs and also if there is any substance in the allegations to which I have referred above.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

## 2. On Naga Problem<sup>1</sup>

I have gone through the papers in this file. I attach considerable weight to the views expressed by T.N. Kaul.<sup>2</sup> He is fully familiar with the Naga problem and has tried to deal with it in a liberal way throughout, so much so that he virtually came in collision with the Assam Government because of his advocacy of the Naga cause. Yet I must confess that I do not fully endorse his suggestions. It has certainly to be borne in mind that the Naga problem is essentially political and not military but the issues which are facing us need not be mixed up. To some extent they overlap each other but perhaps at present, while bearing the political objectives in view and also constantly remembering that we are not at war with the Nagas, who form an integral element of the entire Indian community, we have to concentrate for the time being on the military aspect. We should treat even the hostile Nagas in a humane and so far as possible friendly way, but nevertheless we have to reconcile ourselves to effective means for resisting violence and breaking the bone of the resistance movement. Any constitutional change or even political pronouncements would be premature at this stage. The time is not ripe yet for it. They are likely to be regarded as the precursor of approaching surrender to the Phizo group and may tend to further stiffen their backs and result in the demoralisation of the waverers.<sup>3</sup>

Even the liberal leaders may not feel happy over any such step in the existing circumstances. If it is considered advisable a statement may be made in Parliament but it will be perhaps no more than a repetition of what has already been said. I doubt if it will make any impression on the Nagas or result in any change in their mental or overt attitude.

G.B. Pant

22-5-56

1. Minute. J.N. Papers, File No. 445, p. 31, N.M.M.L.
2. B. 1913; joined I.C.S. in 1936; held diplomatic posts in Moscow, Washington and Peking; Joint Secretary Ministry of External Affairs 1953-56, and Secretary 1966-68; ambassador to Iran 1958-60, and to the Soviet Union 1962-66; Foreign Secretary 1968-73; ambassador to the United States 1973-76; d. 2000.
3. The Naga National Council led by A.Z. Phizo since 1946 had been demanding an independent state for the Nagas.

### 3. Talk of Naga Independence Mere Moonshine<sup>1</sup>

As to the situation in the Naga hills, as you know, I had the benefit of meeting the military officers and local administrators.<sup>2</sup> Our own advisers from the Government of India were also here. Well, we did not come here to initiate any new policy. Some people thought we were thinking of launching a new policy. We came here just to find whether we could be helpful in any way in putting an end to this sorry state of affairs. So we had some talks between us and we also looked at the map in order to form a correct idea about what had happened. You know the happenings of the last few weeks and we tried to understand how the land lay.

You know that there have been some fanatics, if I do not use the word madcaps, in the Naga hills who were bent upon creating trouble. Some time ago the Naga Council had been dissolved. The man who had nominated the Council had been practically discarded by the majority in the Council. This appears to have made him desperate. Then after that he started this campaign of violence and bloodshed. Last year Phizo had assured the Chief Minister<sup>3</sup> that whatever the political objective of his group might be, their methods would be strictly non-violent and peaceful. He had also issued an appeal to that effect and had succeeded in persuading some of the leading Congressmen to go with him so as to ensure maintenance of peace. What he did secretly we do not know.

After that when the Naga National Council found that he was not a reasonable man, he started different methods and Mr. Sakhrie, the leader of the sensible and patriotic group, was murdered by him. He treated Mr. Sakhrie with ferocity and brutality. He was tortured and after that he was tied to a tree and shot. Since then these sorts of activities have been going on.

It is really a matter of grief and distress to us that under the influence, intimidation and coercion of these few people, the Nagas too should feel nervous as all of them are naturally not in a position to resist. Yet there are large numbers of loyal Nagas who hold different views, and who are prepared even to face risks. So they are the sufferers.

We want the Nagas to maintain their culture, their way of life and want to help them in every way. But at the same time we are anxious that the Nagas should advance with the rest of the country in matters economic, industrial and educational. Their standard of health should be raised. They must have the benefits and amenities which we give to other people in other parts of the country.

1. Address to a press conference, Guwahati, 1 July 1956. *The Hindustan Times*, 2 July 1956
2. Some rebel leaders of the Naga National Council had been fighting, under the leadership of A.Z. Phizo, for the establishment of an independent Naga state.
3. Bishnu Ram Medhi.

We want our country to have a rich and varied culture and to that extent the Nagas are a great asset. They add to the culture of our country. They are men who have maintained good characteristics and features, but they are easily misled and the so-called leader has now been leading them on to disaster. He has killed many of the Nagas and caused immense torture. In some cases the soles were skinned and nails driven in before the man was killed. In many cases men were decapitated. So when the Nagas who want to lead a normal life are treated in this manner, it becomes the primary function of the authorities to see that these methods cease.

These misguided ones have certain advantages and facilities vis-a-vis our Army. Some of them are ex-Army people. They belonged to the Army personnel in the olden days and were trained in the use of arms. They have got stocks of arms and ammunition which were left by the Japanese, by the British and by our own Army during the Japanese invasion. They were also trained in guerilla warfare in order to meet the Japanese aggression. Those who joined this hostile group tried to force, coerce and intimidate others at the point of the sword so that they may use them for carrying on their nefarious deeds.

The Army is engaged, but not in fighting against an enemy. The Army would have made short shrift of them in a few days, but here we have our own men—our countrymen, some of whom are misguided and we cannot use force indiscriminately. We have to see that the innocent do not suffer and thus the task of the military becomes rather embarrassing and they cannot adopt their usual ways and they have to see that those who are not of an evil mind do not suffer. Even as regards others they do not want to be ruthless and inflict unnecessary suffering. So this thing has been going on for some time and now the Army is there. The Assam Rifles and policemen from other States are also there and they are working well.

We still hope that good sense will prevail on the Nagas and they will realize that we all belong to India. There is no reason why there should be any misgiving or suspicion in any quarter. Our desire is to serve the Nagas. We do not get any benefit from the Nagaland. They would not help the country either economically or otherwise but they are our people. So those who are interested in the administration of the affairs of the country feel that they owe a sacred duty by the Nagas to see that their interests are advanced and, even if they have in that process to undergo certain difficulties, to face them. It is only the desire to serve the Nagas that influences and impels the administration in adopting this course.

But one thing is clear. There can be no submission to violence, to coercion or to intimidation. We want to do everything for the Nagas. The Nagas have complete scope for self-development and growth in this land. But we cannot submit to any sort of coercion and those who resort to such methods are really coming in the way of the growth and development of the Nagas. It is fantastic to talk of independence of the Naga hills district. The total popula-

tion is about three lakhs—a quarter of the population of a normal district and 6 per cent or 7 per cent of our bigger districts such as Gorakhpur and Midnapur. To talk of independence for this small bit of territory is moonshine. It is something that only a lunatic can think of.

Then in these days when you cannot develop except with vast resources, wherefrom will the Nagas get their resources? We want them to lead, as I told you, a full life, a good life, like the rest of our people. They are our brethren and our own sisters and we have the same regard for them as for others in our country.

Some roads have been constructed in the Naga hills. We will construct more roads wherever necessary. We will take necessary measures for relief and rehabilitation wherever people are in difficulty. We also want medical aid to be given where needed. All these things are engaging the attention of the Chief Minister and our desire is to serve the Nagas but our determination to put an end to violence will be the guiding factor. Unless this violence is wiped out other measures that we want to adopt for the benefit of the Naga community cannot be put in train. It is in their interest that peace and normal conditions are restored as speedily as possible.

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## LETTERS TO NEHRU SENT ABROAD



## 1. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 9, 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Thank you for your letter of February 3 which arrived here only yesterday.

The report that T.T. Krishnamachari has tendered his resignation was published in the evening papers here in Delhi the very day you left.<sup>2</sup> I saw him the next day and had a long talk with him. I need not reiterate all that he said. He gave me to understand that his decision was irrevocable as things had not come off as he had reason to expect and in the circumstances he found it impossible to continue in the Cabinet. He went out on tour soon thereafter and returned only yesterday. He met me again today. He told me that he had received your letter but his attitude has not changed and he intends to leave Delhi before your arrival.

You may have received my cable about the defeat of the Thanu Pillai Ministry in Travancore-Cochin.<sup>3</sup> The motion of no-confidence was carried by 60 votes to 30. The Communists could not have turned the scales even if they had joined the P.S.P. supporters. So they remained neutral. They now want to form a Ministry themselves and are seeking support from individual members. There is, however, little chance of their securing even the minimum strength. The P.S.P. have asked for dissolution, but their request cannot be accepted. They form a very small minority of the House and have hardly any status especially after the acceptance of the no-confidence motion by the Assembly.

1. J.N. Papers, File No.318, pp 194-5, N.M.M.L.

This letter and the following three letters included in this section were written during Nehru's absence from India when Pant also looked after the matters handled by Nehru. Nehru went to London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held from 31 January to 8 February and returned to India on 18 February. He again visited Russia and some other countries for about five weeks in June- July 1955.

2. T.T. Krishnamachari, the Union Commerce Minister, had resigned because of differences with Nehru on economic policy, particularly the latter's emphasis on public sector. But later he withdrew his resignation. However, he finally resigned as Finance Minister in 1958, accepting moral responsibility for some dubious investments made by the nationalized Life Insurance Corporation in order to assist a businessman whose record was not clean.

T.T.Krishnamachari; b.1899; businessman of Madras; joined Congress in 1942; member Central Legislative Assembly 1942-45; member Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament 1946-52; Union Minister for Commerce and Industry 1952-56, for Finance 1956-58, without Portfolio 1962, for Economic and Defence Coordination 1962-63, and for Finance 1963-65; d. 1974.

3. A no-confidence motion moved in the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly against the ten-month-old P.S.P. ministry headed by Pattom Thanu Pillai was passed on 8 February.

The position continues to be fluid and has not yet fully crystallized. The Tamilnad group had expressed its readiness to support the Congress and is, I am informed, now willing to merge with the Congress. It is likely that the Congress may be able to form a stable Ministry there.<sup>4</sup>

Delhi stalemate also has been resolved. After a series of prolonged meetings a solution was reached unanimously by all members. The two groups were almost evenly balanced and it seemed to be admitted that Brahama Prakash had 17 as against 20 on the other side.<sup>5</sup> I made it clear that a slender and precarious balance like this between the two groups would not put an end to the wranglings and instead of concentrating on constructive work for the welfare of the people the energies of the members would mostly be directed towards wooing individuals in rival camps to the detriment of public good. In the circumstances, in the absence of any other alternative, President's rule seemed to me to be inevitable. Good sense ultimately prevailed and the groups agreed to sink their differences and as a result Sardar Gurumukh Nihal Singh<sup>6</sup> was elected by them all as their leader. I hope there will be no trouble now till the next general election.

Takhatmal Jain has won his seat by a handsome majority.<sup>7</sup> Hindu Sabha has been disappointed. They have lost their ground in their citadel and this is likely to prove the beginning of their end. Takhatmal will now presumably be the leader of the Madhya Pradesh Congress Party.

4. A Congress ministry headed by P. Govinda Menon was formed in Travancore-Cochin on 14 February.

5. In Delhi state the Congress ministry headed by Chaudhury Brahm Prakash faced trouble from the rival group in the Congress Legislature Party headed by Sushila Nayar

Chaudhury Brahm Prakash; b. 1918; freedom fighter; went to jail several times during 1941-45; president Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee 1951-52 and 1966-67; Chief Minister Delhi state 1952-55; member Lok Sabha 1957-70 and 1977-79; imprisoned during Emergency; joined Janata Party in 1977; Union Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation 1979-80; d. 1993.

6. B. 1895; educationist and politician; taught economics and political science at Benares Hindu University 1920-39; Principle H.L. College of Commerce Ahmedabad 1939-43, Ramjas College Delhi 1943-50, and Sri Ram College of Commerce Delhi 1950-52; member Delhi State Legislative Assembly 1952-56, and its Speaker 1952-55, and Chief Minister 1955-56; Governor of Rajasthan 1956-62; d. 1969; works include *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development* and *Indian States and British India: Their Future Relations*.

7. Takhatmal Jain of the Congress defeated Brij-Narain Brajesh of the Hindu Mahasabha in a by-election to the Madhya Bharat Legislative Assembly from Bhilsa.

Takhatmal Jain; b. 1895; pleader of Vidisha (Gwalior state); first non-official Minister in Gwalior state 1940; Chief Minister Madhya Bharat 1950-52 and 1955-56; Minister for Commerce, Industry and Agriculture Madhya Pradesh 1956-58, and for Planning and Development 1962-64; General Secretary A.I.C.C. 1958-60; founder-member of Madhya Pradesh Bharatiya Kranti Dal (1969); d. 1976.

Developments in Nepal have been reported to you fully. Dissensions have increased and the situation has deteriorated considerably during the last week or two. Prime Minister M.P. Koirala has lost much of his ground.<sup>8</sup> The Crown Prince<sup>9</sup> has gone to see his father in Nice. The existing situation calls for quick decision and in order to avoid day-to-day references to the King<sup>10</sup> it has been suggested that the King should be pleased to delegate his authority even with regard to the matters which he has reserved for himself to the Crown Prince so long as he remains away.

Andhra elections are approaching. The Congress is expected to secure a majority.<sup>11</sup>

I have received your letter of February 4 about Tukoji Rao Holkar.<sup>12</sup> He has already seen me twice. His case is being looked into and needful will be done.

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference appears to have followed your lead. The London communique published yesterday bears your characteristic impress and stamp.<sup>13</sup> I cannot express my admiration in words. We are all proud of what you have been doing in such a remarkable way in furthering your mission of world peace and goodwill. India's stature is rising higher and higher every day.

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

8. The dissensions in the ruling Nepali Congress had led to the passage of a cut motion during the debate on the budget proposals in the Advisory Assembly. As a result, Prime Minister M. P. Koirala had submitted the resignation of his ministry to the Crown Prince.

M.P. Koirala; b. 1912; founder-member of Nepali Congress (1946), and its president 1950; Prime Minister of Nepal and also held portfolios of Foreign Affairs and General Administration 1951-52 and 1953-55; ambassador of Nepal to the United States and permanent representative at the United Nations 1962-64.

9. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah; b. 1920; succeeded his father as King of Nepal in 1955 and ruled till his death in 1971.
10. Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah; b. 1906; King of Nepal from 1911 till his death in 1955.
11. In the Andhra State Assembly elections, held on 11 February 1955, the Congress secured a majority and thereafter a Congress ministry was formed in the state under the leadership of Gopala Reddy.
12. For Pant's letter of 30 August 1955 written to Tukoji Rao Holkar, former Ruler of Indore, see p. 383.
13. The communique issued at the end of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference on 8 February called for a peaceful solution of the Korean problem and declared that the Commonwealth countries would work for promoting "conditions in which real peace can grow and thrive so that freedom and plenty may be enjoyed by all people." It added that the nuclear energy presented "a choice and a challenge", and that the "annihilating power of the new weapons renders it imperative that sanity should prevail and that war should be prevented."

## 2. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 24, 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Nearly three eventful weeks have elapsed since your departure from India.<sup>2</sup> By this time you will have, I imagine, covered about 15,000 miles by air and road. During your whirlwind tour of Russia when you were moving at a terrific speed, no diplomatic bag could be sent to you. The first one is being despatched to you today and along with it I am sending this letter.

2. We have been elated over the thrilling accounts of the remarkable ovation you have been accorded from day to day since you set your foot on the Russian soil.<sup>3</sup> What a wonderful welcome! From the glowing accounts that we have the pleasure of reading every morning since your departure, your Russian tour looks like a triumphal procession. No prince, statesman or saint has ever been received with such warmth, enthusiasm and affection in another country. No one can doubt the spontaneity and sincerity of the feelings displayed by the people and leaders of Russia. The status and stature of our country has risen still higher and we are deeply beholden to them for their unmistakable adoration of your high principles and personality. I really wonder how you can stand all this tremendous strain.

3. I was glad to receive your telegram. The reply sent to you yesterday may have reached your hands by this time. Vague reports about the invitation extended to you by Eden<sup>4</sup> had been appearing here since, I think, the 14th of this month. I was in Naini Tal up to the 17th and I had seen some reports in the press while I was there. We did not receive any official despatch; only Dutt<sup>5</sup> spoke to me a day or two after my arrival about the talk he had with Middleton.<sup>6</sup> So far as I have been able to ascertain, the news first came here from London. However, I am glad that you will be meeting Eden at his request before the forthcoming high power talks.<sup>7</sup> I have not yet received your final programme but hope to get it in a day or two.

1. J.N. Papers (Files at home), N.M.M.L.

2. Nehru visited the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Yugoslavia, Rome, England and Cairo in June–July 1955. He left India on 5 June and returned on 13 July.

3. Nehru reached Russia on 7 June.

4. Anthony Eden; b. 1897; British Foreign Secretary 1935–38, 1940–45 and 1951–55; Prime Minister 1955–57; d. 1977.

5. S.Dutt; joined Indian Civil Service in 1928; Commonwealth Secretary 1947–52; ambassador to West Germany 1952–54; Foreign Secretary 1954–61; ambassador to Soviet Union 1961–62, and to Bangladesh 1972–74.

6. G.H. Middleton, British Deputy High Commissioner in India.

7. The Foreign Minister of France, Edgar Faure, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union,

4. I understand that the Russians were greatly impressed, among other things, by your homely dress and I give below an extract from the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore which has a bearing on the subject and may interest you:

Pandit Nehru in his plain suit of an *achkan*, *pyjamas* and a Gandhi cap strikes one as symbolising new India with a new ideology and new aspirations of her own. The Pakistani dignitaries in their borrowed plumes of Western dress are a reminder that, though a free people, we still lack a soul of our own, and take pride in aping the West. That, incidentally, also epitomises the whole difference in the life-processes that set in...<sup>8</sup> India pursuing a vision and a destiny of her own with right missionary zeal, and Pakistan just aimlessly drifting about.

What Pakistan needs most is the rediscovery of her soul—a truly Islamic soul, with a vision of its own and a destiny of its own to pursue.

5. I have been in touch with Dutt since your departure and he has been good enough to consult me whenever necessary. He has been referring to you important matters and trying to secure your instructions. I am glad that the misunderstanding which was created in connection with Mullick's<sup>9</sup> visit to Hongkong has been fully cleared. It was unfortunate that the Chinese authorities should have misunderstood Mullick's attitude instead of appreciating the various steps taken by him to ensure smooth and fruitful progress of the investigation. No doubt has been left on some of the salient points of the case. The sabotage which ended in the disaster was undoubtedly arranged in Hongkong.<sup>10</sup> Hongkong has a large network of KMT intelligence and several of the suspected people were connected with it; only evidence sufficient and precise enough to establish the guilt in a law court, of the individuals who actually lodged the time bomb in the plane has perhaps not yet been collected. The Hongkong authorities have advertised a substantial reward for this purpose. The investigation seems to be proceeding satisfactorily. Kao was overworked and on his request we have sent an assistant just to help him.

6. Regarding Nekowal,<sup>11</sup> you had already seen the message which Iskander

N. Bulganin, the U.S. President, D.D. Eisenhower, and the British Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, met at Geneva from 18 to 23 July 1955 to discuss European security, German unification, disarmament and contacts between the East and the West.

8. Omission in source

9. B.N. Mullick, Director of Intelligence Bureau

10. The *Kashmir Princess*, the Air India Constellation carrying the advance party of the Chinese delegation to the Bandung Conference, crashed in the Indian Ocean on 11 April.

11. On 7 May 1955, twelve Indian army men were killed in firing by the Pakistani border police at Nekowal, a village eight miles from Ranbir Singh Pura in Jammu. In reply to the protest lodged by India, the Pakistan Government said that no conclusion could be reached till the

Mirza<sup>12</sup> had communicated to me and also the reply sent. Ghazanfar Ali<sup>13</sup> came to see me with the message after we had received a copy direct through our High Commissioner, and in fact after we had sent a reply too. He fully recognised our right to the disputed area but suggested that in order to strengthen Mirza's hands, it would have been helpful if the time had been extended and his request accepted by us.

7. I referred to the principal facts of the case and also pointed out that our claim having been accepted and the position having been fully clarified by U.N. Observers, this was just the opportune time to put an end to the vagueness which had given rise to an unfortunate series of incidents in the Nekowal area, and we had not at all imagined that there would be any objection to our patrolling the territory lying on our side of the border. But we were amazed that General Shaikh had gone to the length of asserting that the entire territory of Jammu and Kashmir was under dispute, and that that being so, Pakistan was not prepared to recognize our authority anywhere within that State.

8. Our patrols visited Nekowal according to programme on the appointed day and also on several occasions thereafter. There was no trouble. The villagers have since quietly shifted to Pakistan in batches. In Nekowal itself there has been no clash of any sort but there were some petty incidents later at a distance of 7 to 10 miles from Nekowal. They did not seem to be connected with the action taken by us in Nekowal and were noted and dealt with in the usual manner.

9. You might be remembering that we did not publish the U.N. Observers' report about the Nekowal incident.<sup>14</sup> The Pakistan press too remained quiet for some time but in spite of the fulsome apology offered by the Prime Minister<sup>15</sup> and Minister for Interior of Pakistan, distorted and garbled versions inspired by official sources, began to appear in the Pakistan papers about a fortnight ago. Even Ghazanfar Ali gave a misleading version to some press

findings of the U.N. Observers were available, and added that India's claim for compensation for the loss suffered also could not be entertained till then.

12. Pakistan Minister for Interior

Iskander Mirza; b. 1899; joined Indian army in 1921; entered Indian Political Department in 1926; Pakistan Defence Secretary 1947-53; Governor of East Pakistan 1954; Minister for Interior 1955-56; first President of Pakistan 1956-58; d. 1969.

13. Pakistan High Commissioner in India

Ghazanfar Ali Khan; b. 1895; member Central Legislative Assembly 1923; member Council of State 1933; Parliamentary Secretary to Punjab Government 1937-44; Member Health Department Interim Government 1946-47; Minister in Pakistan 1947-48; ambassador to Iran 1948; High Commissioner to India 1953-56; d. 1963.

14. According to the report of the U.N. Observers, Pakistan had violated the border in Nekowal and the whole incident was pre-planned. The report was sent to the Governments of both the countries on 16 May.

15. Mahomed Ali Bogra; b. 1909; member of Muslim League in Bengal 1937-47; ambassador of Pakistan in various countries 1948-53; Prime Minister of Pakistan 1953-55; d. 1963.



representative while he was at Nainital. We were inclined to publish the text of the report but considered it advisable to consult the U.N. authorities before taking such a step. We have, after some correspondence with them, enabled the press to give the correct facts especially with regard to matters which had been the subject of misrepresentation in the Pakistan press. This course we adopted after previous intimation to the Secretary-General of the U.N., and it has served the purpose we had in view.

10. I have written to Iskander Mirza about the Agreement on border incidents which was confirmed by our Cabinet almost the very next day but has still to be ratified by Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> We would like to take necessary steps to implement it on its ratification by Pakistan. I have not yet received any reply from him.

11. You may have seen the draft settlement on the canal waters dispute.<sup>17</sup> A reply has been sent to Black<sup>18</sup> as approved by you.

12. The results of the election held for the Constituent Assembly in Pakistan have just been announced. Mohamad Ali<sup>19</sup> has after all succeeded in securing a seat from East Bengal as the only representative of Muslim League from that province. The Awami League and the United Front of East Bengal have fallen out, although Suhrawardy and Fazlul Huq have both been returned.<sup>20</sup> Suhrawardy is no longer a favourite and Noon has been dismissed and humiliated.<sup>21</sup> Pakistan press seems to entertain grave doubts about the smooth and fruitful working of the Constituent Assembly. Almost all of them seem to be of the opinion that none of the politicians is interested in people's welfare.

16. During Iskander Mirza's visit to India, an agreement had been reached between him and the Union Home Minister G.B. Pant on measures to be taken to prevent border incidents in future. The agreement was signed on 17 May. "

17. An agreement with regard to the canal waters for the *kharif* 1955 was signed between India and Pakistan in Washington on 21 June 1955.

18. Eugene R. Black; American banker; Director of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1947-49, and its President 1949-63.

19. Chaudhury Muhammad Ali became the Prime Minister of Pakistan in August 1955

Chaudhury Muhammad Ali; b. 1905; joined Indian Audit and Accounts Service in 1928, Secretary-General Pakistan Civil Service 1947-51; Pakistan Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs 1951-55, and Prime Minister 1955-56; d.1980.

20. In the election to the second Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Suhrawardy of the Awami League and Fazlul Huq of the United Front had been returned, although their parties secured only 12 and 16 seats respectively out of 72 seats.

H.S. Suhrawardy; b. 1893; leader of Muslim League in Bengal; Minister in Bengal 1943-45, and Chief Minister 1946-47; Prime Minister of Pakistan 1956-57; d. 1963.

A.K. Fazlul Huq; b. 1873; Premier of Bengal 1937-41; headed the United Front Ministry in East Pakistan 1954; Minister in Pakistan 1955-56; Governor of East Pakistan 1956-58, d. 1963.

21. The Feroz Khan Noon ministry in Punjab was dismissed by the Pakistan Governor-General on 21 May 1955 and in August he was expelled from the Muslim League.

Feroz Khan Noon; b. 1893; member Viceroy's Executive Council 1942-45; Chief Min-

The success of the candidates is attributed not to the choice or confidence of the people but to artful manoeuvring and intrigue on their part.

13. According to a news item which has just appeared in the *Dawn*, Suhrawardy is reported to have told the press that if U.S. aid to Pakistan is delayed, Pakistan would take it from the U.S.S.R. Besides him, others also are alleged to have emphasized that the aid to Pakistan from U.S.A. was not sufficient and was consequently not proving useful.

14. Three American P.O.W.s who had refused to return to U.S.A. at the time of repatriation and two Belgians who had crossed over to North Korea before the Armistice,<sup>22</sup> all of whom had since been staying in China, have expressed the desire to go to U.S.A. via Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Russia. The Chinese Red Cross sought the assistance of the Indian Red Cross in the matter but they were told that it was advisable to ascertain whether U.S.A. would be prepared to take back these men, otherwise they would be held up indefinitely in Hongkong where the Indian Red Cross has no agency. Dutt suggested that the Chinese Red Cross might be asked whether they would like the Indian Red Cross to approach the British Red Cross regarding taking over these men at Hongkong. They have, however, since been moved to Hongkong by the Chinese Red Cross themselves.

15. According to your instructions, the Ambassador in U.S.A. has been told that our Military and Air Attaches need not join the ceremony for the presentation of British awards to U.S. Armed Forces.

16. There has been no improvement in Goa. Satyagrahis continue to be treated by the Portuguese in a barbarous manner, but the movement seems to be gathering momentum progressively. There was a report in the papers about certain warning alleged to have been administered by the Portuguese Government in this connection, but we did not receive any official intimation. The Goa liberation day was observed in various parts within the Settlement with enthusiasm and our national flag was seen hoisted at many places. On the 18th Deshpande<sup>23</sup> entered Goa with a number of followers. He was beaten by some Goan soldiers but a message from our Consul General in Goa discloses that the Portuguese had no intention of doing so and the Portuguese officer who assaulted him is said to have been placed under custody. Deshpande was brought to the Indian border and released there by the Portuguese. He has since issued a statement suggesting police action against Goa.

ister of Punjab (Pakistan) 1953–55; Foreign Minister 1956–57, and Prime Minister 1957–58; d. 1970.

22. The Armistice signed on 27 July 1953 brought the three-year-old war in Korea to an end.

23. V.G. Deshpande; journalist and leader of Hindu Mahasabha; participated in Quit India movement; imprisoned during the Goa liberation movement; member Lok Sabha 1952–57; president All India Hindu Mahasabha 1960–62; joined Jan Sangh in 1967; elected to Maharashtra Legislative Council in 1968.

17. According to a news item which appeared in the newspapers about the middle of this month, 20 African soldiers were reported to have been shot down by Portuguese soldiers in the southern part of Daman on account of their refusal to fire on peaceful volunteers from India. It may be true but we have no direct credible information. Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde,<sup>24</sup> who has only recently returned after his release from Portugal, has drawn attention to the lack of publicity in other countries of India's case. In an interview he observed that true facts about Goa and its present problems have not been presented before world opinion with the result that Dr. Salazar<sup>25</sup> has got a free field for false propaganda. He referred to the specific case of U.K. which he visited just before coming to India and said that the majority of the people in Britain honestly believed that the Goan people were a mixed race completely westernised by the Portuguese. Their culture too was western and they had nothing in common with India and its culture. There was also an impression according to him that there was no poverty in Goa under the Portuguese, as opposed to conditions obtaining in India, and that if Goa was merged with India, Goan people would be reduced to the level of poverty of Indians. All this is evidently false but there is no one to contradict it there. Shri J. M.D' Souza, President of the Goan National Union, has again reaffirmed that Goan Christians numbering about three lakhs did not entertain any fear about the safety of their religion and culture after merger with India. While appreciating the assurances that had been given to the Goan Christians in this respect, he stated that they "are not at all necessary in the face of the guarantee that the Goan Christians have in the democratic constitution of India where seven million Christians live safely and peacefully within Indian fold."

18. The question of Indians in Ceylon has again come to the forefront and varying views were expressed about the Indo-Ceylon Pact<sup>26</sup> in the House of Representatives recently. On the other hand, there are complaints that the Agreement is not being implemented and the difficulties of Indians have increased.

19. Ratan Kumar left for Bhutan soon after your departure and is likely to be out for about a month. He was well received and his visit will be helpful in removing the doubts and suspicions which some people in Bhutan have not yet been able to shed off.

24. Pundalik D. Gaitonde; physician of Goa; one of the leading opponents of Portuguese rule in Goa who was arrested and deported to Portugal in February 1954, and released in June 1955; nominated to Lok Sabha in 1952; President Goa National Congress 1960-61, Secretary-General of the conference of nationalist organisations of Portuguese colonies held at Casablanca in April 1961.

25. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar (1889- 1970) was the Prime Minister of Portugal from 1932 to 1968.

26. An agreement between India and Sri Lanka was signed on 19 January 1954 to solve the problem of Indian settlers in Sri Lanka.

20. There have been no significant developments in Nepal. K.I. Singh,<sup>27</sup> according to some reports, has crossed over to Nepal from Tibet but nothing more has been heard about him. The Gochar airfield was formally declared open by the King of Nepal recently.

21. Some complaints have been made to me mainly by Mridula<sup>28</sup> about some trivial incidents in a few places in Kashmir. I have referred them to Vishnu Sahay.<sup>29</sup> At my suggestion some persons who had been kept in detention in Jammu were transferred to cooler places. Conditions in Azad Kashmir continue to be disturbed. Unofficial reports about several serious incidents have been received. The Sudhan leader is reported to have been taken to Karachi where his movements are restricted and observed.

22. There has been no change in the Akali Morcha in the Punjab. Arrests are made daily. The movement is peaceful and there are no signs yet of its languishing. The Akalis' control of the Gurudwaras helps them in various ways. The order, I understand, is now in force only in three places. Since the start of this Akali movement the foreign press has taken a consistently unhealthy and prominent interest in it. They have done everything to boost the Akalis and the cause they are supposed to represent. Their attitude has, I have little doubt, given encouragement to the Sikhs. Foreign correspondents and the Akalis seem to have entered into a sort of unholy alliance. In this, as in other matters, perhaps the American correspondents are showing greater zeal than others. It is just an illustration of their general attitude. According to our Ambassador,<sup>30</sup> the American press has on the whole tried to belittle and play down the success achieved by Krishna Menon<sup>31</sup> in securing the release of the American airmen.<sup>32</sup>

27. Leader of Nepali Congress; led army revolt against the Rana regime in 1950 and coup d'etat attempt in January 1952; fled to Beijing after failure of coup and returned to Nepal in August 1955; organised United Democratic Party in 1956; Prime Minister of Nepal July - November 1957.
28. Mridula Sarabhai; b. 1911; daughter of Ambalal Sarabhai; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; worked closely with the Kashmir National Conference after 1938; appointed General Secretary of the Congress in 1946; organised work of relief and rehabilitation of refugees, including abducted women; d. 1974.
29. B. 1901; joined I.C.S. in 1925 and served in U.P. up to 1941 and thereafter in Central Government; Secretary to Ministries of Food 1947-48, Kashmir Affairs 1949-51, Food and Agriculture 1951-52, Kashmir Affairs and Labour 1953-57; Cabinet Secretary 1958-62; Governor of Assam 1962-67; d. 1989.
30. G.L. Mehta
31. V.K. Krishna Menon; b.1896; secretary.India League in London 1929-47; Indian High Commissioner in London 1947-52; member of Indian delegation to United Nations 1952-53; Minister without Portfolio 1956-57; Minister for Defence 1957-62; d. 1974.
32. Krishna Menon played an important role in securing the release of four American airmen captured by China on suspicion of espionage. Krishna Menon had long talks with the Chinese Prime Minister Chau En-lai on the issue during his visit to China from 7 to 16 May 1955.

23. I wonder if you have read the statement made by the Earl of Home,<sup>33</sup> about the India Office Library alongwith the archives of E.I. Company and the India Office being retained intact in Britain. Maulana<sup>34</sup> must be tackling this question and I have no doubt it will also receive your attention in London. In this matter Pakistan and India are agreed and the British Government have obviously no *locus standi*.

24. Owing to certain defects in the State Bank Act, an Ordinance has been issued. The Ordinance does not affect the salient features of the Act such as the vesting of the interests of the Imperial Bank in the State Bank on July 1, the appointed date; only it seeks to overcome certain technical difficulties in the taking over by the State Bank of the assets and liabilities of the Imperial Bank in Colombo, London, Rangoon and Pakistan where it has its branches.

25. There has been no significant change in the exodus of refugees from East Bengal. The Bengal Government is faced with a difficult problem and it has been further aggravated by uneven rainfall combined with comparative drought in some of the western districts of Bengal. The West Bengal Government has, however, undertaken relief work on a large scale and with the advent of monsoon, conditions would soon improve. Mehr Chand<sup>35</sup> is doing his best to relax the tension.

26. All preliminaries having been satisfactorily settled, suitable arrangements were made and the new Iron & Steel Ministry was set up on the 15th of June.

27. The scheme for the award of compensation, in lieu of their claims, to displaced persons has been finalised and is in operation now. Certain other notifications have also issued. The draft proposals relating to the Law Commission have been finalised. The Representation of People Act has been examined and necessary amendments have been drafted. I wanted to hold meetings of various Cabinet Committees to consider matters entrusted to them, but as most of the members have been and are still out, it has not been possible to do so so far.

28. Announcement of awards to victims of the *Kashmir Princess* disaster

33. Alec Douglas, 14th earl of Home; disclaimed peerage in 1963; created life peer in 1974, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations 1955–60; Foreign Secretary 1960–63, Prime Minister 1963–64; Foreign Secretary 1970–74.

34. Abul Kalam Azad; b. 1888; eminent scholar and leader of the Congress Party, founder-editor of *Al-Hilal* and *Al-Balagh* (Urdu weeklies); imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; president All India Khilafat Committee 1920, Unity Conference 1924, and Nationalist Muslim Conference 1928; President of the Congress 1923 and 1940–46; Union Minister of Education 1947–58; d. 1958; works include *Tarjuma-al-Quran*, *Tazkira Gubar-e-Khatir* and *India Wins Freedom*.

35. Mehr Chand Khanna; b. 1897; Finance Minister N.W.F.P. 1946–47; migrated to India after partition; adviser Union Ministry of Rehabilitation 1948–54; Minister of Rehabilitation 1954–62; Minister for Works, Housing and Rehabilitation 1962–64; d. 1970

has been made. It was slightly delayed on account of certain formalities which had perhaps to be observed in the Defence Ministry.

29. Dhebarbhai has been touring about the country continuously since your departure. He has been accorded a cordial welcome in every State and his visits are proving helpful in various ways. The P.S.P. is facing a crisis and is virtually splitting into two. The unprecedented reception extended to you by the Soviet leaders and the people of Russia has completely baffled and confused the C.P.I. They have already made some significant changes in their policy but may yet have to reconsider it soon.

30. Rajendra Babu<sup>36</sup> went to Calcutta to preside over the centenary celebrations of the Presidency College after staying at Pachmarhi for about two weeks and is at present in Hyderabad where he will be staying, I think, for another 10 days. I received a letter from him last week reiterating the proposal which he had made to you some time before your departure.<sup>37</sup> I have appealed to him not to think of any change at least till the end of the present term of the Lok Sabha.

31. You have still to visit a number of places. Every visit of yours to other countries is marked by events which cause real pleasure and pardonable pride to all our people. Mathai<sup>38</sup> has informed me about your final programme and I shall be looking forward to your arrival on the 13th.<sup>39</sup>

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

36. Rajendra Prasad; b. 1884; eminent Congress leader; joined Mahatma Gandhi during the Champaran satyagraha in 1917 and was imprisoned several times, Congress President 1934, 1939 and 1947-48; Member Interim Government; President Constituent Assembly 1946-50; President of India 1950-62; d. 1963; works include *India Divided* (1946), *Satyagraha in Champaran* (1949) and *Autobiography* (1957).

37. Rajendra Prasad wanted to spend some time in South India. See also fn. 5 on p. 398.

38. M.O. Mathai; b. 1909; member of Nehru's personal staff 1946-59; d. 1981; publications include *Reminiscences of the Nehru Age* (1978).

39. Giving an account of his tour so far, Nehru, in his reply of 30 June sent from Salzburg, Austria, wrote: "Apart from receptions etc., wherever we have been, the people have been extraordinarily friendly. This was so in the Soviet Union, in Poland, in Vienna and in Salzburg, and I have no doubt that in Yugoslavia also we shall meet with the same friendliness. Why do we people quarrel, I often wonder, when there is this fund of goodwill and friendliness everywhere."

### 3. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

Srinagar

3rd July 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

It is just ten days since I wrote my last letter to you. There has not been any significant development since and I have perhaps little to communicate which may not already have come to your notice. But as the second bag is shortly to be despatched, I do not want to miss the opportunity of writing a few lines to you.

I am writing this letter from Srinagar. I came here on the 30th of last month and may be staying till the 8th. Kashmir is the heaven of tourists and it fully deserves to be so. I came here, however, not only to benefit by its bracing climate and sublime scenery but primarily to acquaint myself with the existing state of affairs here. I have had some intimate talks with Karan Singhji,<sup>2</sup> and am spending some time with Bakshi<sup>3</sup> and other Ministers every day discussing their problems with them. Srinagar has a bright look and the number of tourists this year so far has excelled the record of the last seven or eight years. Karan Singhji told me that his men had found difficulty in securing workmen for his estate. There was no unemployment and everyone seemed to be gainfully employed. A party of press correspondents who have come to Kashmir from all parts of India have just seen me. They seemed to have been well impressed by all that they saw. They have already been to Jammu and certain other parts. According to them things have settled down completely and no signs of tensions were visible. There may be difference of opinion on minor points but all seem to be agreed on the fact that there has been marked improvement during the last two years in the economic and allied conditions. People generally, whether living in urban or rural areas, have now enough to eat; the goods produced by them are finding an easy access to the market and the prices of rice, cloth and other necessities are quite reasonable. A lot yet remains to be done. The Government of India have treated Kashmir generously but I feel that there are certain matters which deserve early attention. Kashmir is rich in arts, handicrafts and cottage industries but there is no poly-

1. J.N. Papers (Files at home), N.M.M.L.

2. B. 1931; son of Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir; acted as ruler of Kashmir 1949–52 and served as elected head of State 1952–65; Governor of Kashmir 1965–67; Union Minister of Civil Aviation 1967–73, Health 1973–77, and Education 1979; ambassador to the U.S. 1989; vice-chairman Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund since 1990; elected to Rajya Sabha in 1996 and 1999.

3. Ghulam Mahomed Bakshi, Prime Minister of Kashmir.

technic nor any centre for improving the age-old indigenous methods and tools. There is no vocational, engineering, agricultural or medical college. I hope that it will be possible to make provision in the second Five Year Plan for some of these genuine needs.

You may by now have seen Mohammad Ali's letter to you. I think there is no hurry and a reply can be sent to him after your return. Iskander Mirza has not yet acknowledged my letter. The border, including the Nekowal area, has been quiet during this period. The settlement of canal waters for the current season has on the whole been well received.<sup>4</sup> The Pakistan press continues to be venomous; they receive patting from the foreigners who have considerable influence at least with some of the papers there. According to the reports received by us, the strength of the U.S. Information Service in Dacca has been growing rapidly and an American Adviser, we are credibly informed, has been attached recently to the Public Relations Department of the Government of East Bengal. There are many American publicity consultants working already in Dacca. The final results of the so-called elections to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan were published recently. No party has been elected in a majority. Mohammad Ali having entered into some sort of understanding with Fazlul Huq is counting upon a coalition Ministry of the Muslim League and the United Front but neither party seems to be enthusiastic about such a coalition and there are several persons on each side who are said to be distinctly opposed to such an alliance.<sup>5</sup> Among others, Iftikhar-ud-Din<sup>6</sup> and Abdul Bari<sup>7</sup> have been returned. According to *Dawn*, the *Civil and Military Gazette* and other leading papers, there is little respect for the newly constituted Assembly. Except the members of the Assembly, few expect that it will be able to function smoothly or outlive the strain of intrigues and factions beyond a few months.

You will have already received full report from Dutt about Goa. The struggle is gaining in intensity. Several batches of satyagrahis have entered Goa through various routes and points during the last fortnight. They were led mostly by well-known public men. They were beaten mercilessly, and one of them, Amir Chand Gupta, died in the hospital as a result of injuries received

4. For the agreement on canal waters see fn. 17 in the preceding item.

5. However, a nine-member Muslim League-United Front coalition ministry was formed on 11 August with Chaudhury Muhammad Ali as the Prime Minister.

6. B. 1908; joined Congress in 1937; imprisoned during Quit India movement; joined Muslim League in 1945; elected to Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1946; member Pakistan Constituent Assembly 1947-54; elected to second Pakistan Constituent Assembly in 1955; d. 1962.

7. B. 1894; joined Muslim League in 1940; elected General Secretary of Punjab Provincial Muslim League in 1947, and its President in 1949; resigned from Muslim League in 1951 and formed Jinnah Muslim League; elected to Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1952, to second Pakistan Constituent Assembly in 1955, and to Pakistan National Assembly in 1962; d. 1968.



by him at the hands of the Portuguese police. Some satyagrahis had to be admitted to the Belgaum hospital with compound fractures; a few others in another batch were fired upon and received bullet injuries. Some of these satyagrahis have not yet returned. The movement is coming more and more into prominence and the country's attention is gradually being concentrated on it. We have lodged another protest and instructed our Consul General more than once to interview the injured and to ascertain the whereabouts of those who were said to be missing. The Goan situation will have soon to be reviewed after your return, specially as, despite our protests, the Portuguese have continued to indulge in their barbarous methods against unarmed and peaceful people.

Some fishermen from Diu, found fishing in Indian waters a few days ago, could not be arrested by our Customs authorities because they were rescued by about 300 men including some Portuguese military and police officials. The Customs staff will now have the assistance of the Reserve Police, and necessary instructions have already been given to the Saurashtra Government in this regard.

The Chinese seem to have their eye on Hoti and the old scene has again been repeated.<sup>8</sup> Sixteen of their soldiers were reported to have pitched their tents in the area. They have been apparently resorting to these methods just by way of symbolic assertion of their claim to Hoti. Our men have also since reached Hoti and at present both the Chinese as well as our men are camping there in close vicinity of each other. No incidents have taken place and none is expected. Our force has strict instructions not to resort to violence under any circumstances but only to persuade the Chinese. I hope the Chinese will withdraw. An appropriate note has been sent by our Deputy Secretary to an officer of similar status in the Chinese Embassy, explaining the position and emphasizing our right. Some time or other, the question of demarcating the boundary in this difficult and almost inaccessible area may have to be taken up, but there is no urgency, and it can well wait for easier days.

The Dalai Lama<sup>9</sup> has returned from China. According to reports of the statement made by him at Lhasa, he was full of praise for the leaders and Government of China.

If news about K.I. Singh is well-founded, he is likely to reach Nepal shortly and may be granted pardon by the King. We have not received any information, however, from our Embassy. Meanwhile, the Nepalese Ambassador in

8. Since 1954 China had been asserting claims over Bara Hoti, a plain inside Indian territory and two miles south of Tanjun La, recognized as a border by the agreement of 1954.

9. B. 1935; temporal and spiritual leader of Tibet and recognized as the fourteenth incarnation; enthroned as Dalai Lama at Lhasa in 1940; Vice-Chairman National Committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference 1951-59; left Lhasa in March 1959 for refuge in India; received Nobel Peace Prize 1989.

India,<sup>10</sup> as you may be knowing, has been recalled to Kathmandu. He saw me before his departure and did not appear to be happy with the existing state of affairs in Nepal. His successor has not yet been nominated.

The question of transfer of the American and Belgian P.O.W.s to U.S.A. has been, to some extent, satisfactorily settled.<sup>11</sup> With the approval of the Chinese Red Cross, enquiries were made from U.S.A. and the latter has agreed to take back the Americans on condition that they went direct to America. Two of the three Americans have agreed to do so and should soon be on the move. Matters with regard to others have not yet been finalised but it is hoped that a satisfactory solution in regard to them too may soon be reached.

Shortly after writing my last letter, I read the full text of the Moscow declaration and gave my reactions to the press.<sup>12</sup> The declaration unreservedly accepts the five principles of *Panchashila* and further elucidates and stresses the right of every country to determine its own way of life without any intervention from any other State on ideological, social, economic or political grounds. This indicates a significant and far-reaching change in the attitude of Russia and some were optimistic enough to imagine that it may lead to the dissolution of the Cominform.

Other countries visited by you have followed the lead given by Russia and we have been reading with subdued pride the daily reports of the wonderful welcome you are receiving wherever you go. You will be soon visiting the Pope and in the course of the talks there may be reference to Goa.<sup>13</sup> The Portuguese Radio has been circulating misleading and baseless stories and I doubt if the true facts and developments are known to many in Europe. I hope that when you meet Eden, in addition to the important matters, bearing on the forthcoming high power talks, the question of the India Office Library will also be discussed. The enquiry into the suspected leakage of information about Eden's invitation to you from Delhi has since been completed by Handoo. A representative of the *Statesman* appears to have received the information about the invitation as early as the 15th. The first report in the matter appeared in the *Dawn* on the 15th and quoted the United Press of America as the source. Enquiries made from local correspondents reveal that the sources of their in-

10. J.N. Singha

11. In order to solve the stalemate created in Korea over the question of repatriation of prisoners of war, India, as the Chairman of the Repatriation Commission, decided that those prisoners who did not wish to be handed over could remain with the Custodian Force for the time being. India also asked Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, President of the U.N. General Assembly, to take steps to convene the General Assembly to consider the problem.

12. A joint declaration was issued by the Soviet Prime Minister N.A. Bulganin and Jawaharlal Nehru at Moscow on 23 June. See also p. 409.

13. In his talks with Nehru at the Vatican on 8 July, Pope Pius XII agreed with him that the problem of Goa was not religious but political, and expressed the hope that it would be solved in a peaceful manner.

formation were foreign. It can safely be said that no one connected with us was responsible for the leakage.

A bomb recently exploded in Hyderabad city at a crowded place resulting in the death of one person and injuries to several others. The incident occurred at a place which was notorious at the time of the Razakars. It appears that it was a case of pure accident and that presumably one of the old bombs which lay buried at that place, where some children were playing, burst unexpectedly.

The air crash near Agra about which I wired to you was an extremely unfortunate incident. Your message was passed on to the Chief of the Air Staff and was appreciated by the members of the force and bereaved families.

The Akali Morcha has shown no sign of weakening. The Bhooswami Sangh agitation in Rajasthan is likely to fizzle out soon. In Kanpur, though several mills are reported to be working, the strike has not yet been called off.

The scheme of the State Bank of India reached its consummation on the 1st of July as planned. It assumed concrete shape on that day and has been regularly functioning since. The Planning Commission has made some further progress since your departure. The President drew my attention to the inadequacy of the existing arrangements for giving training to Secretariat employees in Hindi; he also made some concrete suggestions. As a result, a scheme has been evolved in consultation with the representatives of the Education Ministry for this purpose. The entry of horror comics has been prohibited under the Sea Customs Act and a Bill, which will be introduced in the next session, has also been framed.

The Ministers who have been mostly away from Delhi since your departure will now be soon returning to Delhi and it may be possible to hold meetings of some of the Committees that were formed by the Cabinet.

The President is still in Hyderabad. I have received his reply to the letter I wrote to him in connection with the proposal he first made to you. I am not without hope that he may ultimately agree not to press his proposal further.<sup>14</sup> He is coming back to Delhi on the 5th and I shall be meeting him on my return to Delhi.

Trust Indu<sup>15</sup> has received my letter and both she and Swarup<sup>16</sup> are doing well.

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

14. See fn. 37 in the preceding item.

15. Indira Gandhi; b. 1917; daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru; founded Bal Charkha Sangh and Vanar Sena (Monkey Brigade) of children in 1930 to work for the Congress, married Feroze Gandhi in 1942; imprisoned during Quit India movement; Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting 1964-66; Prime Minister 1966-77 and 1980-84; awarded Bharat Ratna in 1972; elected chairperson of Non-Aligned Movement in 1982; d. 1984.

16. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (Swarup); b. 1900; sister of Jawaharlal Nehru; married R.S. Pandit

#### 4. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Srinagar

July 5, 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I wrote to you a letter on Sunday to be included in the bag which will be despatched from Delhi for you this evening. I deliberately refrained from referring to a matter about which the President and myself intended to speak to you on your arrival to which we all are eagerly looking forward. I have since been advised by Rajendra Babu to address you on the subject now instead of waiting for your return and I am accordingly doing so.

The moral triumphs achieved by you during this memorable tour have naturally been hailed with joy and pride by everyone in this country including our opponents and critics. It would be no exaggeration to say that it has no precedent or parallel in the history of the world. Not only has the stature of the country risen beyond the most optimistic expectations but everyone with any interest in public affairs is elated over the growth of the stature of every Indian citizen in the estimation of people living in other lands. Our people would be happy if they could give some expression, even in a symbolic way, to their feelings of gratitude, affection and esteem for you. So it was suggested by Rajendra Babu in a letter I received from him some time ago that you should be requested to accept the distinction of Bharat Ratna. I heartily welcomed his proposal. I know that this request will appear to you as queer but this is the highest distinction that the President as the supreme representative and head of the State can confer on behalf of the people. This will immensely raise the worth and value of Bharat Ratna and the President will have the satisfaction of conferring this distinction on his own initiative on one who richly and literally deserves it. He would like to make the award on the forthcoming Independence Day, that is August 15th, 1955.

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

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in 1921; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; Minister in U.P. 1937-39 and 1946; ambassador to U.S.S.R. 1947-49, and to U.S.A. 1949-52; President U.N. General Assembly 1953-54; High Commissioner to U.K. 1954-61; Governor of Maharashtra 1962-64; d. 1990.

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 359, p. 165, N.M.M.L.

# ECONOMIC PLANNING



## 1. Need for Innovations by Planning Commission<sup>1</sup>

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant said that he often felt overwhelmed when he thought of the tremendous responsibility that rested on the members of the Planning Commission. The Government and the country had learnt to look to the Planning Commission for the solution of many problems. Any important problem that arose was referred to the Planning Commission. Members of the Commission had on the one hand to be receptive to suggestions and ideas thrown in from various quarters and, on the other, out of their own thinking and study they had to produce something new. They are not only to frame a plan but also to see that it was put into effect. They had to consider important economic issues such as deficit financing. Theirs was indeed a "great and sacred task." He felt that if they could succeed in this task they could succeed almost anywhere. The Planning Commission had to prepare a broadbased plan which took into account the psychological attitudes of the people. The greatest thing which the First Five Year Plan had helped to achieve was self-confidence on the part of the country and the people. The Planning Commission had to harness all the resources available—psychological, financial and physical—and inspire the people towards greater achievement. Not merely this, the Planning Commission had also to evolve an administrative pattern which was suited to a Plan of the greater size than that they were now contemplating. Pandit Pant said that he could only express this sentiment as he was not himself an expert and would like to learn from association with the work of the Planning Commission.

- 1 Extracts from the record of a meeting of the Planning Commission held at New Delhi on 27 May 1955. J.N. Papers, File No. 355, pp 17–18, N.M.M.L.  
The meeting was presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. Targets of the Second Five Year Plan<sup>1</sup>

The Minister of Home Affairs Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant agreed that the targets laid down in the "plan-frame" should not be lowered. The Plan to be drawn up should be such as would have the necessary vitality to produce more and raise the necessary resources for continuous expansion. Having accepted certain targets, everything possible should be done to achieve them by secur-

1. Speech at a meeting of the National Development Council held at New Delhi in May 1955 printed in *Second Meeting of the National Development Council—Summary Record* published by the Planning Commission.

ing the necessary resources in men, money and materials, for any failure would recoil on the entire social and economic system. As regards the financing of the Plan, it was necessary to recognise the importance of maintaining a proper level of prices. Both inflation as well as sharp recession in prices should be avoided. With properly organised effort, a much larger amount than that indicated in the "plan-frame" could be collected under small savings. In U.P. with systematic effort it had been possible to increase the amount of small savings from Rs. 3 crores a year to over Rs. 9 crores a year. Another serious difficulty likely to be experienced would be in regard to trained personnel. This question should be taken up at once by the Planning Commission, the States and the various Ministries concerned.

### 3. Need for a Rational Approach to Planning<sup>1</sup>

I would say that some aspects of our planning in India are most difficult. We are visualizing huge programmes and we want a large army of honest workers. But we have to go all out and fulfil our plans. And in this connection, I very strongly feel that if we shed all our prejudices and approach all questions in a rational manner, then all necessary adjustments can be made and we can move forward. I would emphasize that in all that we plan, two factors have to be given the greatest attention. The first thing is, we have to provide employment to largest number of people; and secondly, whatever we produce, we must keep the price factor in mind. If the price factor is not suitably adjusted, then our Plans may suffer.

1. Extracts from the report of a discussion on "village industries in the second Five Year Plan" held at the second meeting of the Congress Planning Committee at New Delhi on 3 June 1955. *A.I.C.C. Economic Review*, 15 June 1955; also in J.N. Papers, File No. 355, p. 61  
The meeting was presided over by the Congress President, U.N. Dhebar

### 4. Manpower Problems<sup>1</sup>

The Minister for Home Affairs Shri Govind Ballabh Pant said that for successful implementation of the Plan, it was necessary to tackle efficiently the

1. Speech at a meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 8 December 1956. Printed in *Eighth Meeting of the National Development Council—Summary Record* published by the Planning Commission.



manpower problems. The problem of manpower had to be considered not only in the context of the present Plan but also keeping in view the prospective Plans that would follow hereafter. The Second Plan was more than double the dimension of the First Plan. If the targets in the Second Plan were achieved, the next Plan would be several times bigger than the present Plan. He thought that the growth would not be in an arithmetical but in a geometrical proportion. The question had to be looked at from a long-range point of view and not merely with reference to the immediate demands. In India there was the peculiar position of considerable unemployment and of shortage of the sort of men that were needed. Adjustments had to be made between the demand and the supply of men who were needed in different spheres from the village level workers to those who managed large industrial undertakings or projects such as Bhakra Nangal, Hirakud, Chittaranjan etc. In the first place, there should be a complete estimate of the immediate requirements and the likely requirements when the Third Plan started. A close study had to be conducted in all fields. It had also to be seen if the existing institutions would serve the immediate requirements adequately. The success of all these studies would depend largely on the cooperation of the States.

The Minister for Home Affairs said that the manpower problem had to be considered in an integrated way. A Committee has been set up in the Centre for this purpose and he suggested that each of the States should set up committees for the study of the problem. Apart from the Ministry in the Centre keeping in constant touch with the Committee, it would be useful to associate one or two Chief Ministers with the Committee at the Centre.

The technical personnel needed would certainly be much more than what could be provided at present. Thousands of trained men were required for mines, oil projects etc. The Minister for Home Affairs suggested that new institutions should be established and the existing institutions expanded urgently, if possible, before the academic session started. Wherever necessary, buildings might be hired or resort might be had to the shift system.

The Minister for Home Affairs said that the problem of manpower was an extremely difficult one and there should be regular contact between the Centre and the States and the States among themselves. He suggested that the matter might be discussed in the Zonal Councils.



## **SOCIAL REFORM**

### **I. Harijans and Backward Classes**



## 1. Recruitment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to Public Services<sup>1</sup>

I am in general agreement. Every facility, subject to the maintenance of proper standard of efficiency in administration, should be given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the matter of recruitment to public services. Their numbers at present are quite meagre and awfully inadequate. I do not think that any useful purpose will be served by holding a separate examination for them. Entry into the field of service should be through a common door; otherwise there is a danger of the candidates belonging to these classes being branded as inferior. They have even at present to run a handicap race in spite of their selection after a common examination by the appropriate authorities. Full discretion should, however, be given to the Public Service Commission and other recruiting bodies to grant maximum concessions. The candidates belonging to these classes might be admitted even though their place in the result sheet may be low except when the examining authority certifies in the case of individual candidates that, the minimum standard not being satisfied, exclusion had become necessary. In the case of candidates satisfying this standard by occupying very low positions, some arrangement for additional training and some sort of coaching wherever feasible might be made. It is difficult to make any distinction in the matter of promotions but where a post does not require any high degree of intelligence or special qualifications, the cases of men recruited from these classes might be judged in a lenient manner. Strict rigid standards need not come in their way. A statement showing the relative numbers of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and general recruits should be furnished periodically and the Home Ministry should effectively watch and guard the interests of these classes.

G.B.P.  
16/2/55

1. Note to Home Secretary. File No.5/4/55-SCT-KW, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.

## 2. Punishment for Practice of Untouchability<sup>1</sup>

I have great pleasure in placing this Bill, as it has emerged out of the deliberations of the Joint Committee, before the hon. Members of this House.<sup>2</sup> Luckily it is a Bill which has behind it the unanimous support of the entire House. I am certain that its passage will be hailed with great gratification not only by the hon. Members of Parliament, but also by all sensible people outside.

This Bill was introduced after considerable care. Before giving it a final shape, a draft Bill was published, and after that draft Bill had been scrutinized, the Bill in its original form was introduced in this House about a year ago, *i.e.* in March last year. The motion for reference to a Joint Committee was discussed for four days, and ultimately, with the unanimous approval of all Members, the Bill was committed to a Joint Committee of 49 Members, 33 of whom were nominated by this House.

The Joint Select Committee held 9 sittings and also examined some witnesses who are representatives of bodies who are engaged in the work which has given new hopes and cheer to the members who are mainly affected by this Bill. It has now come before the House in the shape given to it by the Joint Committee after considering all possible views placed before it and also after examining its pros and cons and also all clauses and every word of the original Bill.

The Joint Committee has not made many major changes. The changes that have been made are more or less of a minor character. The definition of "untouchable" has been deleted and the sentence prescribed has been made more severe, imprisonment being compulsory in the case of a second offence committed by the same person. One more change of an important character has been made inasmuch as in the case of the members of the Scheduled Castes the burden of proving innocence will be on the accused. But for these, the main features of the Bill as they were embodied in the original Bill have not been disturbed. There have been some verbal and other changes, but they do not affect the spirit or the substance of the Bill.

This measure, as the hon. Members are aware, has been introduced in compliance with the obligation imposed on this House by the Constitution. The Constitution, by article 17, abolished untouchability and also prescribed that Parliament will make offences, that might involve any enforcement of

1. Speech in Lok Sabha, 27 and 28 April 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 4, cols. 6541-6, 6666-73, 6719-21 and 6810-14.
2. Pant had moved that the Untouchability (Offences) Bill to "prescribe punishment for the practice of untouchability or the enforcement of any disability arising therefrom, as reported by the Joint Committee, be taken into consideration." The Bill, moved by the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, B.N. Datar, in the Lok Sabha on 15 March 1954, had been referred to a Joint Committee of both the Houses in August.

social disability connected with untouchability, punishable. So, this Bill was brought in. "Untouchability" thus does not exist in law. It has been abolished root and branch, lock, stock and barrel by the Constitution itself. That was but natural and proper. Gandhiji had devoted the whole of his life to the eradication of untouchability. The Congress had, as long ago as 1917, resolved that untouchability would be abrogated and no disability on the ground of any one belonging to a particular caste would be tolerated. Subsequently many things happened. Hon. Members might be remembering epoch-making fast of 1932 as a result of which a solemn pledge was taken by and on behalf of the so-called higher castes that untouchability would no longer find any asylum in this country and every citizen would strive his utmost to banish it from the land.<sup>3</sup>

Since then a live movement has been conducted. Many temples have been opened and at least in most of the cities and towns untouchability is now only a thing of the past. But, I am sorry to say that untouchability still, in some form or other, lingers on in some places. It has, therefore, become necessary to pass a Bill so that those who still indulge in such an evil may be properly punished. The abolition of untouchability was a national measure. It is part of the Constitution itself. No one can be called or be regarded in law as an "untouchable" in this land. This canker of untouchability has entered into the very vitals of our society. It is not only a blot on our religion—on the Hindu religion—but it has created intolerance, sectionalism and fissiparous tendencies. Many of the evils that we find in our society today are traceable to this heinous monstrosity. It is really strange that the Hindus with their sublime philosophy, with their merciful kind-heartedness even towards insects should have been a party to such an intolerable dwarfing of manhood. Yet, it has been there for centuries and we have now to atone for it. It is our duty. Enlightened self-interest, apart from other considerations, calls for immediate eradication of untouchability. We have accepted democracy. We have pledged ourselves to the principles of social, political and economic justice. We have also accepted the hallowed bases of modern society, namely, liberty, equality and fraternity. Our Constitution provides again and again for the evolution and development of measures which will lead to the uplift and evolution of every single citizen in our land. The idea of untouchability is entirely repugnant to the structure, the spirit and the provisions of our Constitution. It has also, while abolishing untouchability, made provisions for positive measures needed for enabling the suppressed classes to make up for the accumulated

3 This pledge was taken by the leaders of caste Hindus at the public meetings held at Bombay on 25 and 30 September 1932 following the fast unto death undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi in protest against the Communal Award announced by the British Government granting separate electorates to the depressed classes. Mahatma Gandhi began his fast on 20 September and broke it on 26 September following an agreement between the leaders of caste Hindus and depressed classes rejecting separate electorates and opting for joint electorates.

arrears of past many centuries. The Constitution has taken particular care to emphasize the duty which rests on us.

This measure is only a small part. We will, by law, be providing for the punishment of persons who, as confirmed criminals, are still unable to overcome this vice. This has to be shunned now not only because it has vitiated our religion and degraded our notions of human brotherhood, but also because, in our own self-interest, in this age nothing can be more harmful to us than the existence of such an evil in our country.

South Africa has been notorious for its policy of segregation. With what face can we demand equality for all people, for all races, for all communities if we do not sustain the principle of human dignity in our own land? It becomes difficult for us to argue that we should be treated on terms of equality by foreigners when our own brethren do not receive similar respect from us here. So, for sustaining our own rights it has become essential to do so.

Then, we have accepted the democratic form of government. Democracy cannot thrive in an atmosphere of inequality. Democratic equality is the basis on which alone the fabric of free India can be reared. So, we have to do everything to eliminate this canker, which has almost entered our very soul, as rapidly as we possibly can do it. The mere passing of the law will not be enough. We will have to exert ourselves—every one of us—so that the law may come handy to supplement our widespread activities all over the land. I hope all Members of Parliament will see to it that wherever offences of this type are committed, offenders do not escape punishment. But, more than that, we have to convert people to the new faith of social equality. We have to bring all within the compass of Indian brotherhood. We have to embrace every citizen in a way that there may be no feeling of any inferiority lingering anywhere in our country hereafter. It is towards that end that this Bill has been framed.

I would also like to appeal to those who have suffered because of this evil so far. This Bill does not apply to Hindus alone. It applies to all. This demon of untouchability was born of narrowness, of pettiness and not of social enlightenment counsels. We want to raise every citizen to his full height so that he may be a source of strength to our nation, so that everyone may serve as a pillar for this great shrine of India. It is to maintain unity, it is to ensure cohesion that we all have to strive and exert ourselves. The policy of segregation was born of intolerance, pettiness and, perhaps, arrogance. Let me not, while making efforts to get rid of this evil, do anything or say anything that may smack of partiality for segregation. Segregation is bad whether it is born of hatred or whether it is born of resentment and anger. We all have to live together as brothers and that has been the mandate of Gandhiji to every one of us.

In the olden days, let us remember, those who suffered from these disabilities lived on friendly terms with the ancestors of the other classes in spite



of the disabilities of which they were the victims. More has been done to eradicate untouchability during the last 25 or 30 years than at any time during the last 1,500 or 2,000 years. We owe this movement of eradication of untouchability to those whose conscience was awakened and who, though belonging to the so-called upper classes, realised the sin that untouchability carried with it. So, if there has been an awakening, let us remember that it is not due to any class or section but to a national urge which is hankering after the unity of India and for upholding and sustaining the manhood of every single individual in this land. If untouchables, so-called, were maltreated, at a certain time during those days parents even throttled their own new-born infant daughters. Women were treated as untouchables in their own households. Husbands refused to take food cooked by them. They were not allowed to read the *Vedas* or to otherwise take part in various activities. So, if there was anything wrong, we have to attribute it, at least partly, to the degrading notions which were the features of the particular stage in our growth, development or deterioration. So, let there be no indignation now. Let us carry on the activities which will lead to the fulfilment of the dreams of Gandhiji, which will give solace to those who have laboured for this cause during the whole of their lives and who are today suffering immense torture because this evil has not yet been completely eradicated. We offer our heart-felt gratitude to those selfless workers and nationalists and we hope that all of us will join hands together hereafter so that this devil of untouchability may be exorcised and banished from this land and all of us may live not only in peace and amity but as real brothers in the free democratic republic of India.<sup>4</sup>

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The question that has been raised is an important one and if I could possibly persuade myself to believe that the change would work to the advantage of the victims of untouchability, I would have readily accepted it.<sup>5</sup> My view is that it is not open to this House to define the expression, apart from the fact that, on merits, it would be unwise to do so. If you please refer to the Constitution, you will find in article 17 the clear statement that untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. Further, it says that the

4. After this, the motion that the Bill be taken into consideration was passed and clause by clause consideration of the Bill was taken up.

5. M.S. Gurupadaswamy of the Praja Socialist Party had suggested that a definition of untouchability should be inserted in the Bill in order to make it "very unambiguous and clear", and with this view he had moved that it be added in clause 2 that "untouchable means a member of Scheduled Caste . . . or any other person who by custom or usage is or is regarded as an 'untouchable' by any community or section thereof." The amendment was ultimately rejected by the House.

enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

Then, we have article 35 which says that, notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution, Parliament shall have and the Legislature of a State shall not have any power to make laws for prescribing punishment for those acts which are declared to be offences under this Part.

So, under article 17, untouchability is abolished, the enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability is an offence; and that offence can be described and defined by Parliament under article 35. So there is nobody left as an untouchable in law in this country. What we are concerned with is the defining of offences which would come under article 35.

Then, suppose you were to define untouchability, where is the place where it should be defined? If you define untouchability in this Act and the person goes to a court and says that an offence has been committed, that it comes within the purview of the Constitution and that the definition of "untouchability" or "untouchable" given in the Act of Parliament is not comprehensive enough to cover what the Constitution of India intended to convey by the word "untouchable", then there can be no answer. If you have to define the word untouchability, provided it was possible and feasible to do so, you can do it only in the Constitution. We cannot do so in any Act of Parliament because the Parliament is only to carry out the direction of the Constitution that offences which tend to enforce untouchability which is being abolished by the Constitution shall be defined by Parliament. Nothing more can the Parliament do. In the circumstances, it is not open to us to say that any person is an untouchable. Untouchability has been abolished but there may be offences which do amount to a contravention of the principle of untouchability laid down in the Constitution. That being the position, it is not open to us to define "untouchability". If you cannot define "untouchability" you cannot certainly define "untouchable". The two are so connected that the one cannot be de-linked from the other. When you say such a person is an untouchable, you mean only persons belonging to that class coming within the scope of untouchability. Everyone else, howsoever he may be suffering from the curse of untouchability, will be excluded. There is that constitutional difficulty which faces us when we raise this problem and when we try to find a solution.

Shri M.S. Gurupadaswamy: May I ask one question? If you cannot define untouchability, how can you abolish it?

Pandit G.B. Pant: It has already been abolished. We are not abolishing it. Untouchability has been abolished.

Shri Velayudhan:<sup>6</sup> Will not the whole law become null and void, legally?

6. R. Velayudhan; political worker and journalist; Labour Welfare Officer in Tata Oil Mills 1941-45; Information Officer Government of India 1945-48; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952 as an independent candidate from Quilon (Travancore-Cochin) reserved constituency.

Pandit G. B. Pant: I am sorry that what appears to me to be plain enough, I am not able to make equally plain to others. The Constitution lays down that untouchability is abolished. You have to take the Constitution at its face value. In law untouchability stands abolished from the day the Constitution was passed and adopted. What we have to do is this. If we still find that there are disabilities enforced which were connected with untouchability in the olden days, then such enforcements will amount to offence and will be liable to punishment. That flows as a corollary from the abolition of untouchability itself. When untouchability is abolished, then anything that is done, which was permissible only as being connected with untouchability, becomes an offence. It is these offences which we have to define and for which we have to prescribe punishments. That is what this Act purports to do. That is the constitutional position.

Apart from that, if you look at it from the practical point of view, the question which we have to consider is this. Do you want to restrict the scope of untouchability as we conceive it or do you want to leave a free scope so far as it may be feasible and permissible?

Shri M.S. Gurupadaswamy: Would it not be vague?

Pandit G.B. Pant: It should not be vague. I agree, except to the extent that vagueness is inevitable. So far as the definition of an expression which has not been defined in the Constitution itself is concerned, we have to submit to that word without defining it further. If there is any vagueness in that, that is inevitable and that cannot be cured by us. Apart from that, I see that there is no vagueness at all.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Is it unconstitutional to define "untouchability" because in the Constitution it is said that untouchability no longer exists?

Shri A.V. Thomas: It is superfluous.

Pandit G.B. Pant: What you call unconstitutional, I do not know. What I tell you is this. If you define untouchability here, any person may say: abolition of untouchability is a part of the Constitution; I am an untouchable, though I am not covered by the definition that is given by Parliament in this Act. I am entitled to claim the benefit of the provisions made in the Constitution about the abolition of untouchability though the Parliament has not given the right definition which would otherwise have covered my case too. We cannot scrap that argument.

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Shri S.S. More: According to clause 12, you are confining the presumption to the Scheduled Castes under article 366. The Scheduled Castes are

categorized by the President under article 341. The effect will be, clause 12 controlling the whole enactment, will confine the provisions of this particular enactment to only the Scheduled Castes enumerated in the President's Order which is not supposed to be very exhaustive. There are a good many persons who are kept out of that Order. What is going to be their fate?

Pandit G.B. Pant: So far as clause 12 is concerned, it makes one point clear. That is the only point that is sought to be made by the definition that has been proposed, that the members of the Scheduled Castes had been treated as untouchables in the past.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Not all. In our parts, there are many people of the Scheduled Castes that are not untouchables.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Then, to say that all members of the Scheduled Castes are untouchables is to state what is not true.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: I do not want to state that.

Pandit G.B. Pant: The definition that has been suggested covers all members of the Scheduled Castes. You will see the difficulty at once that all members of the Scheduled Castes are not treated as untouchables. The definition that has been proposed to the effect that the members of the Scheduled Castes shall be treated as untouchables is factually wrong.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: I agree that we should suitably amend it to restrict it.

Pandit G.B. Pant: It comes to this. So far as the definition that is before the House is concerned . . . . .

Shri Veeraswamy:<sup>8</sup> I want to know . . . . .

Mr. Deputy Speaker: No, no. Many questions have already been put.

Pandit G.B. Pant: If you want to know anything, you may put a question to me later. I have to satisfy others also. So far as the present definition is concerned, it is conceded that it does not satisfy the present conditions and requirements. We have to devise some other definition. If you devise some other one you will find again there is a loophole or lacuna. Ultimately, we will be driven to the conclusion that it is not possible to define. Let us take the final conclusion reached by the Joint Committee as a sound conclusion and not add to it. The Joint Committee consisted of 49 Members. The Chairman told me that the question was discussed for two days, and after two days, they reached this decision. On page 4 of the report it is said:

The Committee have discussed at length as to whether the expression "untouchable" used in the Bill should be retained or substituted by any

8. V. Veeraswamy; social worker and journalist; founder-editor and publisher of *Thondu* (Tamil fortnightly journal) published from Tiruchirapalli; founder of Dr. Ambedkar Students' Home, Tiruchi, and Tamil Nad Adi Dravida Students' Federation; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952 as an independent candidate from Mayuram (Madras) reserved constituency.

other appropriate word or words. On the one hand the legality and propriety of the use of the expression particularly in view of the abolition of "untouchability" under Article 17 of the Constitution, and on the other hand, the apprehension that deletion of the word might have loopholes and the purpose of the Bill might be defeated were considered. The Committee are of the opinion that the deletion of the expression "untouchable" would not stand in the way of attaining the object of the Bill. The definition of "untouchable" along with two "Explanations" thereto has been omitted.

Shri Nanadas:<sup>9</sup> That decision was not unanimous.

Pandit G.B. Pant: It was not. I find that one Member of the Joint Committee has appended a note of dissent, but only one out of 49. So it was not unanimous. But, the opposition was slender and feeble. I am not basing my judgment on that.

It would be hardly proper to brand any class as untouchable. If you put in any class as untouchable in this Bill, that, I think, goes against the spirit of the times. It goes against the spirit of this very measure. It does not help us in the cause which we all propose and are resolved to advance.

Then, further, what do you gain thereby? You say that besides the Scheduled Castes, others who by custom or usage are regarded as untouchables will come within the purview of this Act. That means that if any other persons come forward, it has to be proved first of all that, according to usage or custom, those persons are regarded as untouchables. After you have established this fact, then the question whether any offence has been committed or not will arise, so you will only multiply the difficulties. What do you gain by this definition?

Shri S.S. More: Even when he proves the fact that he is recognized to be an untouchable and has been treated as such according to custom or usage, the presumption under clause 12 will not be applicable in his case.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Again, if I may say so, there is confusion.

Shri S.S. More: I have followed . . . . .

Pandit G.B. Pant: Let me explain myself, perhaps you might grasp what I am saying if I am able to make myself clear. The fault may lie with me. The position is this. Under clause 12, we are making an exception in criminal jurisprudence. You say that the presumption will be in favour of the prosecution and against the accused. You say that he will presume that the person has committed the offence with which he is charged. Well, that presumption can be made in the case of members of the Scheduled Castes. But in the case of

9. Mangalagiri Nanadas; Inspector Cooperative Societies Madras 1945-46; Assistant Inspector of Labour Factories Department Madras Government 1948-51; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952 as an independent candidate from Ongole (Madras) reserved constituency.

others, that presumption is not possible because under your very definition, you have first to establish that the person is under usage or custom entitled to be treated as an untouchable. So you have to prove something before he can be regarded as an untouchable. In the circumstances, no presumption can possibly arise. But why should a presumption be made when the circumstances are of an exceptional nature? The case will be proved in the way an ordinary case is proved. In the usual course, I think we could not have thought of anybody except Scheduled Castes while dealing with the problem of untouchability. We, have, however, enlarged the scope of this Act. It will apply not only to Scheduled Castes, but probably to Christians in the south who are not allowed to enter churches by those who consider themselves as belonging to higher classes. There are certain Muslims who are treated in the same manner by the followers of Islam. They will have the benefit of this provision. It is for their benefit that the word "untouchable" has been left undefined. So far as Scheduled Castes are concerned, the Act makes it clear that they are entitled to the benefit of the provisions of this Act in any case. So they will have the benefit of this Act without calling them as untouchable. You give them the benefit of having the presumption made in their favour in all cases in which untouchability is involved. For others you leave the room open. I think nothing better could have been done and I am glad that the Joint Committee has taken this view.

Shri Sadhan Gupta: What is the meaning of the words "unless the contrary is proved" in section 12?

Pandit G.B. Pant: The meaning is that unless the contrary is proved, the presumption is there; the presumption is rebuttable, not conclusive.

Shri Sadhan Gupta: Even in the case of Scheduled Castes, is it a rebuttable presumption?

Pandit G.B. Pant: Of course, all presumptions are rebuttable.<sup>10</sup>

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The amendments can be grouped under four heads.<sup>11</sup> I will only make a very brief statement about each.

The first one suggests the deletion of the word "only".<sup>12</sup> I personally do not see that the deletion or retention of the word makes any real difference. I have no objection to the word "only" being dropped. We want to get rid of untouchability and I should like to make the process of eradication of

10. After this, all the amendments to clause 2 were rejected by the House, and the clause was passed in its original form.

11. The amendments related to clause 3 of the Bill.

12. R. Velayudhan had moved that the word "only" be dropped from the expression "whoever on the ground only of 'untouchability' prevents any person . . ." The amendment was passed by the House.

untouchability complete as speedily as can be possible. So I do not think anything will be lost by deleting the word "only".

As to the introduction of the word "math", I think it is not necessary.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, we do not know what a *math* means. It is better to confine ourselves to the known and not to get entangled in the unknown. It may create other problems. There are not many *maths*. Even I, though there is perhaps no bar to my entering a *math*, have never entered any *math*. So others will hardly have had any occasion to enter a *math*. I am afraid that it might also sometimes create a law and order problem. The people in charge of *maths* are full-blooded, and I would rather like to save others from even unwarily intruding into the preserves of the *math*-keepers. So in the interest of the weaker people, it is much better to leave *maths* alone than to get them involved in this hazardous enterprise.

Then about punishment.<sup>14</sup> I understand that there have been proposals of contrary and opposite character. On the one hand, some hon. Members have suggested that the sentences must be more severe than those prescribed in the Bill. I think there has been a suggestion that the sentence of six months should be reduced to three. I think the best thing in such cases is to let the provision, which has been adopted by the Joint Select Committee, remain undisturbed. They had had occasion to examine every word of the Bill fully, and there is no reason why, when there is a difference of opinion, we should override their well-considered conclusions. So, let it remain as it is.

The fourth amendment relates to the Explanation.<sup>15</sup> There would have been no harm if there had been no Explanation. Explanations often, instead of explaining, make them still more inexplicable. However, it is there and it has the sanction of the Joint Select Committee. So I do not want to upset it completely. I will, however, suggest a few minor amendments on the amendments that have been proposed by some hon. Member, Shri Dabhi.<sup>16</sup> I think. I presume the Chair has got a copy of the amendment. I suggest that instead of the Explanation remaining in the form in which it appears in the Bill, it might be amended slightly, so that the amended form would be—

13. This amendment moved by Shivmurtiswamy was ultimately rejected by the House.

14. As regards the punishment, several amendments were moved. Thakurdas Bhargava proposed a fine of Rs. 500 and imprisonment of three months or both, N. Rachiah suggested a fine of Rs. 5000 and three years' imprisonment, and Elayaperumal recommended a fine of Rs. 1,500 and imprisonment of three years. All these amendments were ultimately rejected by the House.

15. F.B. Dabhi of the Congress had moved that in the Explanation "Swami Narayan Sampradaya" be also mentioned as one of the sects of the Hindu religion.

16. Fulsinhji Bharatsinhji Dabhi; lawyer and freedom fighter; imprisoned twice during the freedom movement; worked for prohibition; active member of Jati Nirmulan Sanstha (Caste Eradication Organisation); member Bombay Legislative Assembly 1937-39; member Criminal Tribes Inquiry Committee 1939, and ex-Criminal Tribes Inquiry Committee 1949; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952 as a Congress candidate from Kaira (Bombay).

**For the purposes of this section and section 4, persons professing the Buddhist, Sikh or Jain religion or persons professing the Hindu religion in any of its forms or developments, including Virashaivas, Lingayats, Adivasis, followers of Brahmo, Prarthana, Arya Samaj and the Swaminarayan Sampradaya shall be deemed to be Hindus.**

That will, I think, set at rest the anxieties of the Jains and it will meet the case fully. So, I suggest that this amendment be modified to the extent necessary, and if it assumes the shape which I have given to it, I hope all hon. Members will agree to my proposal and to their amendments being withdrawn.<sup>17</sup>

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Mr. Chairman,<sup>18</sup> I am sorry that these clauses are not being examined and considered in that dispassionate and detached way which the process of legislation on a social subject demands.<sup>19</sup> We should appreciate the circumstances in which this Bill has been brought before this House. So far as the scheme of the Bill goes, it is designed to help the process of social reform. It is not brought forward in any spirit of vindictiveness. It has not been introduced in order to create more difficulties for the Scheduled Castes but to solve them and to hasten the day when untouchability will altogether cease in every part of this country. That is the objective which the framers of this Bill had before them. We must examine the proposals that are contained in these clauses bearing in mind the object which we want to achieve.

So far as clause 12 is concerned, I think that clause has been framed with due regard to the circumstances in which we have to function. The clause provides that in the case of Scheduled Castes, where any of the acts mentioned in this Bill is proved to have been committed, there shall be a presumption that that act involves the issue of untouchability. That is all that the clause says.

Shri Raghavachari: That is not there. "Proved to have been committed" is not there.

Pandit G.B. Pant: The wording is: "Where any act constituting an offence under this Act is committed in relation to a member of the Scheduled Caste . . . ." The word "committed" is there. So it means that the act is committed, and the person concerned is a member of the Scheduled Caste. This presumption shall be made when the offence has been committed. It is necessary for the person who has committed such an act to establish that he

17. Pant's suggestion was accepted and Dabhi's amendment as modified by him (Pant) was passed.

18. S. Radhakrishnan

19. The reference was to clauses 12 to 16.



has done the act not because the complainant or the person who had suffered from such a deed was a member of the Scheduled Caste but on some other count. In the circumstances, I do not see what objection can people have to this clause.

Shri Raghavachari: With your permission, what I said is this. It is not "is alleged to be committed or is proved to have been committed". You simply say "committed". It will be presumed.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I see your point, but that does not affect my argument in the least; it remains where it was and I think this clause should stand. Scheduled Castes need the protection of law and to the extent this clause extends that protection to them, it should be maintained.

As we have deleted the word "only" from other clauses, I would suggest that the word "only" might be deleted also from line 30 of this clause. To that, there could be no possible objection.<sup>20</sup>

So far as clause 14 is concerned, I think some words are redundant and unnecessarily too wide. So, from this clause 14, I would suggest that the words "as well as the company" be deleted, because a company is not a physical person. It is only a juristic body. So, the person in charge who has committed the offence should be liable to be punished but the company by itself is a corporate body whom you cannot punish in cases of this type or in any case whatsoever in a criminal court. So the words "as well as the company" may be deleted from line 45 of clause 14.<sup>21</sup>

Similarly, from sub-clause (2) of this clause, I suggest that the words "or connivance of, or is attributable to any neglect on the part of" be deleted, so that where any offence has been committed with the consent of any director or manager, secretary or other officer of the company, such director, manager, secretary or other officer shall be punishable. But we cannot go beyond that and no court will be able to hold that any other person has committed any offence. This is the utmost limit to which any other court can ever find any person guilty. So, these redundant words "or connivance of, or is attributable to any neglect on the part of" might be deleted.<sup>22</sup>

There has been some argument about sub-clause (b) of clause 15. Now the Joint Committee on which all sections of this House were fully represented deliberately introduced this clause. They said in paragraph 26 at page (vi) of the Report thus:

The Committee discussed the question as to whether the offences under this legislation should be made compoundable or not. It was felt if the provisions of the Bill are made strict, they may defeat the very object of the Bill. Therefore the Committee are of opinion that the offences under this Act should be made compoundable with the permission of the court.

20, 21 and 22. All the three suggestions given by Pant were accepted by the House

Shri Nanadas: This was put to vote and passed by a narrow majority even in the Joint Committee stage.

Pandit G.B. Pant: I was reading what appears in the Report of the Joint Committee and nobody has suggested that the Report is in any way inaccurate. So we have to accept that it was the considered opinion of the Joint Committee that these offences should be compoundable. But let us go further and examine the position ourselves and see what would be the right thing. Firstly, no offence is compoundable by itself. It says that the offence can be compounded only with the permission of the court. If the court does not give the permission, the offence cannot be compounded. Very serious offences under the Penal Code can be compounded with the permission of the court. Offences like those of causing grievous hurt can be compounded with the permission of the court. You may cause a fracture to a man's hand or to his head and still it can be compounded with the permission of the court. So, where the court finds that an offence is of a petty nature and that it will be in the interests of the complainant himself that the offence should be compounded, it will give him permission. When it does not find that, it will not give permission. Let us go further and examine the acts which had been made offences under this clause. You will find that ordinarily, if any of the acts were committed with regard to a person who is not an untouchable, it will not be an offence in law at all. Suppose a hotel-keeper does not allow me to enter the hotel, I cannot drive him into the criminal court. He cannot get any punishment in a criminal court. Suppose a person does not allow me to enter a temple, I cannot sue him in any criminal court. He has the authority to do so or he has not. I may or may not have a remedy in a civil court, but I can never have a remedy in a criminal court. With regard to all these offences that are mentioned in this clause no remedy is available in a criminal court. The only thing that a man can do and that too in very rare cases is to approach the civil court for some sort of remedy. So, if you have the nature of the offences in mind you will find that they are essentially of a civil nature. They are being created as offences under the criminal law in order to put an end to the practices that have survived even after the abolition of untouchability. We should not, therefore, go beyond the requirements of the case and get excited over things which will rebound on us and serve as a boomerang and not help the purposes which we have in view. If there are offences against members of the Scheduled Castes themselves—there may be offences committed by persons who happen to commit such offences inadvertently, foolishly—how is the cause of social reform to be advanced? Can this be done by being vindictive or by allowing the parties to come to terms to restore goodwill and to proceed in a manner which will help the growth of good feelings between all sections of the community? So, in the circumstances, we should bear in mind the nature of the offences; they are very wide. No law accepts them as offences in any country. We have gone much beyond what any country has ever attempted in order to eradicate

untouchability. It is a matter of some regret to me that in the circumstances it has been said here: "If you are sincere about it then you do this; otherwise you are not sincere."<sup>23</sup> I think that that sort of language is not very helpful to the cause which we all hold in view.

Then some Member said either today or yesterday, "Well, we will change our religion." That is not the way in which social reform is going to be effected. Members seem to forget that in the olden days, for hundreds of years, when the members of the Scheduled Castes suffered from insufferable hardships, indignity and insult, they bore them with patience. They never said, "We are going to change our religion because we are suffering like this." Even allurements were held out to them by the ruling community of those days. But they stuck to their religion though they were handicapped and suffered in so many ways. Temptations and blandishments were held out to them by the rulers of the day. To those blandishments several others gave in but the members of the Scheduled Castes stuck to their folds and did not desert them. That is their loyalty to their faith. That is their capacity to suffer and with all that, today when an attempt is being made to solve the problem which is a tenacious one and which has persisted in spite of all efforts, let us not lose our sense of proportion and say or do things which will not help anybody. So, I submit that with the amendments that I have suggested, the clauses may be adopted by the House.<sup>24</sup>

23. This had been said by Kanhaiya Lal Balmiki, Congress member of Lok Sabha from Bulandshahr reserved constituency.

24. After this, clauses 12-16, as amended, were passed by the House

### 3. On Condition of Harijans and Tribal People<sup>1</sup>

The condition of Harijans deserves the sympathy not only of every citizen of this land but also of every person who is interested in the maintenance of the dignity of man as such. In the circumstances, I am not surprised that all sections of this House, regardless of their own views in matters political, social or economic, are of one opinion so far as these problems concerning Harijans, Girijans or backward classes are concerned. We have to give our attention to matters pertaining to these classes not only because it is our privilege to serve them, we who had the advantage of enjoying the benefit of their services for a considerable time, but also because in the interests of the solidarity of our nation and of its consolidation into a very powerful State, it is absolutely

1. Speech in Lok Sabha, 16 September 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 7, cols. 14126-14141

necessary that there should be no weak link in our national chain. So, this question has to be looked at from a wider point of view. All of us have to consider it in a spirit which will acknowledge no defeat and which will go forward in spite of all handicaps and hurdles that may come in our way.

The Report of the Commissioner has been subjected to some criticism.<sup>2</sup> The criticism was, I am afraid, somewhat ungenerous and uncharitable. He has tried to do his best in the circumstances in which we all happen to be situated today, and I for one venture to say that he has also succeeded in achieving certain results. The care which he has bestowed on the problems, manifold and varied as they are, from year to year has maintained the continuity of the progress which started on the day when Gandhiji took up this problem and made it his own. In the interests of our nation we have to see that not a single citizen in this land remains weak, whether morally, spiritually, economically or socially. However, we have now decided to develop our society on a socialistic pattern.<sup>3</sup> That makes it all the more necessary that no gulf exists between any two sections of our large family of India. That requires that all those ups and downs are so adjusted that we may all stand not only on sound ground but on a common level. I would appeal to all Members to deal with this question in an earnest spirit with a determination to solve it as quickly as we can.

Some of us do feel the anguish of it that there should be still discrimination, that there should still be harassment and that there should still be some remnants of tyranny in villages and elsewhere. But we cannot let ourselves be depressed. We will go ahead and see that these become things of the past very soon, and all of us move together as equals, as fellow-members of this vast, great, ancient India which is now a Republic. A republic cannot grow any sort

On 14 September, Pant had moved that the "Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1954 be taken into consideration." He had also moved that since the discussion on the report for 1953 had not been completed, it should also be continued.

2. The main criticisms of the report for 1954 submitted by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commissioner, Srikanth, were that the quota of posts reserved for Harijans in government services was not being filled, that Harijans were not being recruited in the Police Department, that fees were being charged from scheduled caste students in schools and in the Delhi University despite the Government's decision contrary to that, that panchayats were passing judgments against Harijans, and that the Anti-Untouchability Act was not being implemented. The criticisms were made by several scheduled caste and scheduled tribe members, including Naval Prabhakar of Delhi, Anusuiabai Borkar of Bhandar, Jaspal Singh of Ranchi, Ramdas of Hosiarpur and Ajit Singh of Kapurthala.
3. This decision was taken at the Avadi session of the Congress held in January 1955. The resolution passed at the session declared: "Planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth."

of invidious treatment of a section. It demands equality among all citizens, equality in all other respects also, so far as circumstances admit of such equality.

The question of Harijans has received attention not only of the Centre but also of the states. In fact, all activities have directly and primarily to be conducted by the states. We can help them, we can assist them, we can sometimes perhaps stimulate and stir them, but for the most part, the burden falls on them. There has been occasionally some little delay in dealing with routine matters on the part of some of the states. Even with regard to this report, I had to request the states, personally some of them, to let us have the necessary information and figures. But that does not in any way indicate that the states are lacking in enthusiasm for the cause to which we all are wedded. Their desire to work for the welfare and uplift of the Harijans is as keen as ours. I have come from a state, and I know that all members of the legislature there vied with each other in rendering the service which they owed to the Harijan community. So, we should not make any sort of deprecatory allegations against any state. Apart from other things, that does not help the purpose which we want to achieve and to ensure; we can only gain by securing their cooperation and by enlisting their support in an active, quick and vigorous manner.

There has been some complaint about the delay that has occurred in the presentation of the report. I may submit that so far as the report of 1954 is concerned, it was placed before the House as soon as could be possible. After the year 1954 had elapsed, some time was inevitably taken in collecting information. The report was sent to the press in February, it came in May from the press, and it was laid on the table of the House in May. So, I think from this hon. Members will be satisfied that an effort has been made to expedite matters to the maximum extent possible. If further endeavours in this regard are feasible, they will be made. But I do not feel very confident about securing the desired results.

The question of Harijans is considered from many angles. I for one look at it from the social or, if you will allow me to say so, the spiritual angle. Harijans need food, Harijans need clothes, Harijans need houses; they need land, they stand in need of medical advice, of education, of employment and all these things. We must provide all these, and make a way for these purposes. But, above all, I want the Harijan to stand on his legs as a dignified citizen of this land, who does not look to others for his succour and relief, but who comes forward as the stalwart citizen who depends on himself and is determined not only to satisfy his own elementary needs but also to contribute towards the welfare of the entire community. I want him above all to be a self-respecting individual, to be a citizen who is determined to do the best for himself, but who above all trusts that if one sticks to the right course, one will gain the end. If he follows the means that are of the proper type, he will not be left behind. Harijans may be well fed, may be well clothed, but if they have been deprived of the rights that a citizen of India should have, I would not be

satisfied. I want to work for that day when a Harijan may even be seen as the President of India. That will be the greatest day in the history of our country. We will rise in the estimation of the world, and they will say that while America has failed to satisfy its problem of Negroes, Indians, soon after the achievement of independence, have been able to wipe out an indelible blot of centuries under the inspiration, guidance and leadership of that great Mahatma who continues to live in our midst even if his physical body be not before us. That is the objective towards which we have to direct our energies. In order that we may achieve that, it is necessary that there should be right atmosphere, and the Harijans should look upon the country as the one towards which they have to devote all that they have, not for themselves but for others. That has been their tradition, and let them not lose that tradition now.

We, on the other hand, have to work for our own atonement in a way. We have to see that we do not fail in the sacred duty that we owe to them. It is not a matter of politics. It is not a matter of even nationalism but it is something higher than both. And there is an irresistible demand for the fulfilment of that call from the spirit of man which hankers after real equality and genuine manhood. It is this which we want to ensure, and towards this we have to apply all feasible and suitable methods.

There was a reference to the establishment of a new Ministry. If that serves the purpose of Harijans, I for one would have no objection. But it is not, I believe, the means for the achievement of our objective. There may be an occasion for it, and we may have a Ministry as soon as it may be necessary. But whether we have a separate Ministry or whether we have a combined Ministry, what is essential is this, that all of us should combine together to carry out this programme of the real welfare and uplift of the Harijans and the tribal people.

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As hon. Members might be remembering, a resolution was placed before the House only a few weeks ago suggesting the appointment of a separate Ministry, but it was not accepted by the Government. It does not, however, follow from this that if the exigencies of the situation require the establishment of a separate Ministry, it will not be done. But under the existing circumstances, that does not seem to be the view of this House. Certain suggestions have also been made here for the setting up of a Central Harijan Board. I do wish to have the benefit of the advice and close collaboration of the Harijan Members of this House. I have been meeting them informally from time to time. But I will look into the question, and it is quite conceivable that we may set up a sort of Board here which would share the privilege of serving the Harijans with me. I will look into the matter.

In the states, they have got Harijan welfare boards—in several of them.

If there are any which have not yet got such boards, we will pass on this suggestion to them too. I have similarly been meeting the representatives of the tribal areas and tribal people informally. But if it is considered advisable, we can also give thought to the necessity or propriety of setting up a board for assisting the Home Ministry in the administration of tribal affairs.

Sir, great stress has been laid—and rightly too—on the removal of untouchability, for so long as this stigma is allowed to be attached even to a single individual, it in a way brings down the entire stature of our people and our country. We cannot tolerate untouchability in any shape or form. It is regrettable that in spite of the laws that we have passed and in spite of the clear provisions in the Constitution by which untouchability was made a crime on the day the Constitution came into operation, the evil practice still persists in some places. We should all do our best to uproot it. I hope hon. Members will carry out vigorous propaganda in their respective constituencies. We have now got a Central Act and in that Act, this offence has been made cognizable.<sup>4</sup> We have taken some steps, but it seems that they have not borne adequate fruit. So we will see what more we can do, and the suggestions that have been made here in this regard will be considered with due care. And I can assure the House that we do not lag behind any other hon. Member in this House in our determination to efface this blot from the face of our country. It will be wiped out and the sooner it is done, the better for all of us.

There has been a reference to the public services and the handicaps from which Harijans suffer in the matter of recruitment. That has been realised throughout. As hon. Members are aware, seats have been reserved for Harijans, they are entitled to a reservation of 12½ per cent in services that are filled by competition, and 16.25 per cent in others. Besides that, a relaxation in the matter of age to the extent of 5 years is allowed to Harijan candidates. In the matter of all-India services, the relaxation, I think, is allowed to the extent of 3 years. I will, however, consider whether with regard to these services also we cannot raise the limit to 5 years.

Insofar as fees etc. are concerned, they are required to pay only one-fourth of the fee prescribed.

We have again impressed upon the recruiting authorities that the Harijans are entitled to special consideration. Even if we recruit them in their full proportion, still it will take them many years to secure an appreciable place in the public services. They are extremely backward in this regard. So we have issued instructions from the Home Ministry that wherever any Harijan candidate, however low his place may be, is found capable of carrying on the work he should be recruited so that the reserved quota may be filled by them; in special cases arrangements may be made for giving them special training if they are not immediately fit to undertake those duties and responsibilities.

4. The Untouchability (Offences) Act was enacted in April 1955. See also the preceding item

We have also set up a special section in the Home Ministry for dealing with matters of recruitment and promotion relating to Harijans. We have our roster and wherever there is a vacancy which has to be filled by a Harijan, it is so filled. But if suitable candidates are not available or if the number recruited does not come up to the fixed quota, a report has to be made to the Home Ministry. And wherever we find that the full number has not been recruited, we call for an explanation for the failure of the Ministry to appoint the requisite number. I think these measures will produce some effect. But if anything more can be done and is suggested I will be prepared to give thought to such proposals also.

So far as the Central Secretariat Service is concerned, we have taken special steps, as is known to hon. Members. We held an examination recently, restricted to only Harijan graduates, for filling up the posts of 100 Assistants. So, we propose to appoint 100 Assistants as a result of this examination. Besides, a hundred other vacancies are to be filled in the usual course, and there too we have reserved twenty-five out of the hundred, that is 25 per cent, for Harijan candidates. During the course of the next four years we expect 20 posts in the upper grades to be filled, and there too we have reserved at least five for Harijans.

It is our effort to give every possible encouragement and to take whatever step may be possible in order to ensure the filling of these posts that have been reserved for Harijans or tribal people by the members of those communities.

In the year 1954 the recruitment of Harijans for Class I services was only one out of forty-five. I am sorry for this that no one came up even to the moderate standard. But in Class II, out of forty-seven, four were filled by Harijans. In Class III, out of 597, seventy-six were allotted to Harijans. And in Class IV, out of 128, twenty-six were filled by Harijans.

Again I have requested the Ministries which have not been able to recruit the required number to let us know the reasons why it has not been possible to do so.

From what I have said, I think hon. Members will be pleased to concede that we are as anxious to secure the adequate representation of Harijans in services as anyone can be.

In the Central services the number of Harijans is very low. I am glad that one of the members of the Union Public Service Commission will now be a Harijan. That does not mean that any member of the Public Service Commission will be guided by any narrow-minded considerations. All of them will look at problems in a dispassionate and non-communal way. But if any aspect of the question ever happens to be overlooked or ignored, then the means that are open to us should be adopted so that there may be no occasion for such a feeling lingering in any quarter.

I think for the recruitment of Harijans to high posts, superior posts, to the all-India services, it is necessary to provide adequate facilities for their edu-



cation. The Central Government and the Ministry of Education here have been doing what they can in order to provide such facilities. I think education for Harijans in all stages should be free, not only in the primary and secondary sections but also in colleges, in universities, in vocational and professional institutions. I am anxious that large numbers of Harijans should receive high education. For the prestige that attaches to a person occupying high office is much greater than the advantages that one may enjoy otherwise. So, in order to create the spirit of respect and fellowship for Harijans it is desirable to have large numbers of Harijans in superior services. And for that we must give them education of the highest type possible.

I was impressed by the suggestion that a good number of Harijans should be provided seats in public schools, and those who are really deserving should be given scholarships for education in foreign countries and also for pursuing the line in which they show excellence so that they may reach the summit.<sup>5</sup> I attach great importance to education in the university and in professional and vocational colleges. We hope to start a number of such institutions now. For our Second Five Year Plan we will require a large number of experts and fully equipped and qualified men, and I hope Harijans will avail themselves of the opportunity and they will be given all assistance that they deserve.

Apart from the education and the services there is the question of economic uplift. That is an important question. I hope the entire country will be covered by national extension blocks in the course of the next five years. So everyone living in the rural area will have the benefit of the service that the blocks can render. But besides that, special efforts will be made to meet the requirements of the Harijans in these blocks. The question of housing is a colossal one and I do not know if we can adequately solve it. But, still efforts will be made to provide at least tolerably good houses, houses that may be considered suitable for human habitation at least, for Harijans. I am distressed to find that the sweepers, scavengers, and *bhangis* are treated in an almost atrocious manner so far as their housing and other things are concerned. The municipalities who get the best of service from them neither provide good doors, nor lights nor water for them in many places. I think it is their due that they should be given all those amenities which are enjoyed by others. I feel sometimes very sad when I see the scavengers going with some buckets on their heads. I think that practice should cease. It should be prohibited by law and some other method should be found for carrying filth and other night-soil etc. from the houses of residents to the dumping ground because it is extremely galling and humiliating for any man to be put to such a service. It is something from which the human mind and thought rebels and even revolts. So, I hope the municipalities will take due care to provide suitable houses and all reasonable amenities for the sweepers and scavengers.

5. This suggestion was given by Naval Prabhakar.

I hope that some provision will be made in the next Five Year Plan for providing houses for Harijans. I also wish that even if some land for cultivation be not available, at least building sites should be provided for Harijans in their respective villages. Then with a little grant they can put up houses for themselves. That will give them a certain stability and a certain status. I hope some progress will be made in this direction also.

The tribal people have received very little attention in the past. I feel somewhat sore over it. Whatever service has been rendered to them, they owe it not to us but to foreigners. We are still not discharging our elementary duty by them. We have to live with them and we have to treat them in a manner which will generate in them a feeling of affection and fellowship with the rest of the people of India. So far, they have been isolated. They have a high standard of rich culture. We have to preserve their culture, we have to see that all that is good in them—and I think by far the major part of their heritage is commendable and admirable—should receive protection. But they suffer from many handicaps. Many of them have no lands to cultivate. They shift from place to place like nomads. They have been given little education; in certain tracts, they suffer from infectious diseases and their health too is ordinarily much below par. So, special attention has to be given to their needs and to their requirements. I hope that hon. Members who live in the vicinity of the tribal areas or who have the advantage of living in those areas will take special interest in the welfare of the tribal people and do all that they can to raise them educationally, socially and economically.

We have also to provide other means for the Scheduled Castes as well as for the tribal people. Their economic condition must be improved and for that all our crafts and cottage industries and other things deserve encouragement. We should have centres, I think, where those who have been following certain professions from one generation to another should be given opportunities of developing new methods and using better implements. That will enable them to earn a better wage and also tend to encourage the community.

Besides these, we must take whatever steps may be possible for raising these people economically. For, after all, whatever we may say, even education, however high it be, when it does not fill the stomach leaves the sack in a risky condition. It cannot manage to stand straight. So, in the interest of the country as well as of these people who have been suppressed—one cannot say for how long—it is necessary that their economic condition should be improved, and a feeling of fellowship should be developed in them. There should be no distance separating them. I hope wherever any practices are still tolerated which tend to divide one section of the community from the other they will be resisted and abandoned, for nothing can be more detrimental to the interest of the country than invidious discrimination against one section of the community by another. There has been a demand for an increase in the number of representatives of Scheduled Castes or of tribal people and also for the

addition of certain other castes or groups to the list. The matter is receiving the attention of Government and I hope a decision will be coming in time so that all those who are now included in the list may be able to exercise their suffrage and cast their votes in the next general elections. I expect that the number of representatives of Scheduled Castes as well as Scheduled Tribes in this House will be greater than it was at the last general election. But I cannot say anything definitely as the matter is under examination.

I think that so far as the Sikhs are concerned, they also will be given necessary facilities so that they may advance and may not suffer from any disabilities. After all, whether any particular class or group is included in the list or not, it does not affect its position if it is assured of suitable and adequate amenities. All these, I hope, will be available to them. I think I have taken ample time of the House.

I have to say a few words with regard to the remarks made by Shri Anthony.<sup>6</sup> Well, I do not propose to go into the matter in detail. I would like to discuss questions pertaining to educational grants or to the recruitment to railway services with him personally. If necessary, I will ask the Secretary or the Minister concerned with education or railways to meet us so that all outstanding matters may be settled satisfactorily. I do not want anybody to deviate from the guarantees that have been given in the Constitution. We stand by them and having once given a sort of a pledge it is our duty to carry out whatever we have promised to do whether we like it or not. For, after all, the word of a nation counts far more than a few thousands or lakhs, whether they are used for one purpose or the other. Our country was great because it stood by certain principles. We have still to see that we do not in any way deviate from those principles which gave us strength in the past and from which we hope to derive strength in future. So, we are here labouring and working for the rehabilitation of the principles of equality and fraternity, fellowship and brotherhood, among all communities and among all citizens and individuals in the land. That is the aim and the purpose, and I hope if we can discharge our duties in an efficient way by all sections of the community in this land, we will have vindicated our position and once more shown to the world that it is after all the eternal verities that count and it is for those verities that we live, work and labour in this land.

Shri B.S. Murthy: I want to ask for a clarification. Some of the State Governments are halting in implementing the schemes because of the quota of money that they have to contribute for the success of the schemes. Is there any way out?

6. Frank Anthony, nominated Anglo-Indian member of Lok Sabha, had complained that unconstitutional cuts in respect of educational grants to the Anglo-Indian schools had been made by the Madras and U.P. Governments. He had added that the service quotas reserved for Anglo-Indians in the Railways and Telegraph and Customs Departments had not been filled.

**Pandit G.B. Pant:** Yes. I do not accept defeat under any circumstances, and so there must be a way out.

**Shri Ajit Singh:**<sup>7</sup> I also want to ask one question. The hon. Minister just now stated that he would provide all housing facilities for the Scheduled Caste people residing in municipality areas. I want to know if he has to say something about those who are residing in non-municipality areas.

**Pandit G.B. Pant:** I did not make any distinction between rural and urban areas, nor did I promise anything about municipal areas. I said it is the duty of the municipality to provide suitable housing for sweepers and others, but I hope to get some grant from the Centre for housing for Harijans, and if I succeed in my endeavours, then we will frame a scheme and see how we can best utilise that money.<sup>8</sup>

7. Independent member of Lok Sabha for Sirohi-Pali (Rajasthan).

8. Ultimately, all the amendments moved to Pant's motion were rejected and the motion was passed by the House on 19 September.

# SOCIAL REFORM

## II. Christians

## 2. To Amrit Kaur<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
4th March 1955

My dear Rajkumariji,

I thank you for your letter of 15th February along with copies of letters from Metropolitan of India and Bishop of Delhi about holding of elections on Sundays.<sup>2</sup> Jawaharlalji had also received similar correspondence from you which he has sent on to me. I do not know if occasions when elections were held on Sundays have at all been frequent. Sometimes, of course, when these have to be spread over a number of week days, Sundays may inevitably intervene and cannot be avoided without causing a lot of administrative inconvenience and expenditure. Not much difficulty should arise in the matter of casting of votes by the electors even if any polling day coincides with the day of religious observance of certain rites, and you will doubtless agree that once a principle of this nature is allowed to influence the fixing of dates endless difficulties will crop up with different religious bodies and sects pressing their claims for being considered. As a matter of fact when the nation's objective is to work for the utmost production of wealth, it would be preferable for polling to fall on days of public holidays so that normal work in offices as well as in factories is not disturbed. I trust you will share the opinion that there is not much in the objection which the Bishop of Delhi and Metropolitan of India have taken.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No.16(49) 50-PMS, Sr. No 85B, P.M.O.

2. Arabindo, the Metropolitan of India, and Frederick, the Bishop of Delhi, had written to Amrit Kaur that elections to Parliament or local bodies should not be held on a Sunday as it caused a considerable amount of inconvenience to Christians.

### 3. To Ravi Shankar Shukla<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
20th March 1955

My dear Shuklaji,

Certain feeling of perturbation has been expressed for some time by the Christians with regard to the sense of insecurity that, they say, they are feeling at present. In this connection Cardinal Gracias, Archbishop of Bombay, saw Jawaharlalji and also me. He was expressing concern about the Christians specially in Northern India and he mentioned in particular the States of Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Bihar in this respect where he thought the position was somewhat uneasy. With regard to certain complaints made before, Home Ministry has already written to your Government. In particular, he laid stress on the enquiry into Christian Missions which had been pending in your State for the last ten months. The Cardinal thought that this enquiry puts the Catholics and the Christians as on trial without their being given an adequate opportunity for putting up their case. He also said that discrimination was being exercised against Roman Catholic schools and they were not being given any recognition or grants or free scholarships. He said that he had met you also in this connection a number of times and you listened to him with sympathy and interest but nothing tangible had so far come out. I assured him that Christians would get even treatment in this country and that everybody wanted them to enjoy as much freedom as any other citizen in India is entitled to. I am forwarding to you the list of grievances which the Cardinal gave me for your consideration. I am enclosing with my letter the papers he had given me in this respect. You will no doubt like to look into them and might, when convenient, favour me with your views.<sup>2</sup>

Delhi is getting warmer everyday although nights are still cool and pleasant.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No. 33(111)/52-PMS, Sr. No. 115-B, P.M.O.
2. Shukla replied to Nehru on 31 May saying that the Roman Catholics were carrying on an organized propaganda against the Enquiry Committee appointed by the State Government, and that when "Christians are re-converted, the Missionaries feel they are being harassed."

#### 4. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

April 3, 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

You wrote to me some days ago about the activities of Arya Samajists against the Christians in Meerut. I have spoken to Ram Kripal Singh and also to the District Magistrate and referred to it publicly when I had occasion to speak there myself. The District Magistrate has taken official action and assured me that everything would be all right. I hope public opinion will also take the right turn and assert itself.

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

1. File No. 33(128)/54-PM, Sd/-No. 12A, P.M.O.

#### 5. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

28th May, 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I saw your letter about Christie after my return from Bareilly.<sup>2</sup> We had written to the Madhya Pradesh Government about this matter early in April last and had also forwarded to them copy of a letter received from Shri Lobo, Advocate, Nagpur. I also spoke to Shuklaji about it when he was here for the meeting of the National Development Council, and drew his attention to certain features of the two cases which deserved his attention. He promised to look into the matter. I again contacted him on the telephone today and understood from him that he had already sent for the records of the case from Sarguja and was awaiting their arrival. I am waiting for Shuklaji's final reply. He has prom-

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 350, N.M.M.L.

2. Nehru, in his letter of 30 April, had written: "To sentence him (Christie) to eight months' imprisonment for smuggling a small quantity of rice seems to be not fair at all . . . . Quite apart from this case, I am concerned at the steady deterioration in the Christian position in Madhya Pradesh."



ised to speak to me on receipt of the relevant papers. I understand that Christie has filed an appeal and is now on bail. The matter being of a judicial character and still in a way sub judice, I wonder if we can do anything more.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

## 6. To Amrit Kaur<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
14 July, 1956

My dear Rajkumari,

You might remember that you had sent me, along with your forwarding note of 27th April last, a copy of a letter from the Metropolitan of India regarding the opening of a Health Unit Centre in the island of Car Nicobar.<sup>2</sup> I made necessary enquiries and received the information I wanted, while you were away from India. I had been awaiting your return and am now sending you this reply.

I find that adequate medical facilities have been provided by Government in the Car Nicobar Island. The population of the Island does not exceed 10,000. There is a 60-bed hospital in this Island and a 10-bed hospital in Nancowrie, which will shortly be converted into a 20-bed one. In addition, there is also a mobile motorship which carries a medical officer, 2 nursing orderlies, 2 compounders and a well-equipped dispensary, one operation theatre and a hospital cabin with 6 berths. It is proposed to expand these facilities further in the Second Five Year Plan by adding another 50-bed hospital at Car Nicobar. The arrangements made in Car Nicobar do not compare unfavourably with the medical facilities available in the rest of the country including the advanced cities. In these circumstances, while fully appreciating the offer so kindly made by the Metropolitan, I feel that it would be hardly fair to have a foreign Health Centre there. You may be knowing, according to our accepted policy, we do not encourage outsiders to pay frequent visits or to settle in these islands.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No.36/2/56 AN, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.
2. In her letter of 27 April, Amrit Kaur, the Union Health Minister, wanted to know what reply she should give to the Metropolitan of India who had approached her, on behalf of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, to open up a Health Care Unit in the Island of Car Nicobar. She had added: "It is a sad commentary but it seems almost impossible for us to get our own people to go into out of the way places to serve those in need."



# SOCIAL REFORM

## III. Miscellaneous



## 1. The Problem of Sadhus, *Muths* and Beggary<sup>1</sup>

The question may have attracted the attention of the Social Welfare Board.<sup>2</sup> The Planning Commission may have collected necessary information. An enquiry on the subject may be made from the Board as well as from the Commission. Copies of Goswami Ganesh Dutt's letter might also be sent to these two bodies.

We might examine the question independently and see if anything can be done to ensure registration of *Muths*, to protect children from unwholesome influences and to gradually put a stop to the prevailing practice of beggary and initiation or conversion of minors by sadhus, managers of *Muths* and others.<sup>3</sup> It is not easy to deal with such social matters effectively merely by legislation. Mere banning or prohibition by law will hardly go very far. Some positive remedy is called for. We are at present unable to provide employment even for those who are eager to work and constantly on the lookout for the jobs. Landless labourers and able-bodied young men cannot get land for cultivation and many who would make very good farmers and craftsmen are unable to make a start for lack of necessary implements and other means. I wonder if we can do much for the beggars and sadhus so long as others with a will and desire to labour and to work hard are forced to roam the streets for want of gainful employment.

G.B. Pant

- 1 Note to Home Secretary A V Pai, 29 December 1955. File No.2(13)/56-PMS, Sr.No.8B, P.M O
- 2 Commenting on the memorandum submitted by Goswami Ganesh Dutt, member of the executive committee of the Bharat Sadhu Samaj, to Nehru dealing with the problem of sadhus and beggars, N. Sahgal, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, in his note of 12 December 1955, had written that the "Planning Commission with its Statistical Section and the Social Welfare Board would appear to be the authorities immediately concerned" He had added that Goswami Ganesh Dutt's suggestion of registration of *Muths* and Alms Houses was useful, but his other suggestions were not practical.
3. While passing on Goswami Ganesh Dutt's memorandum to the Home Ministry for consideration, Nehru, in his note of 4 December 1955, had observed: "We might also prohibit any person joining a *Muth* before a certain age. It is a scandal how boys and girls are picked up by some of these *Muths*."



# EDUCATION AND CULTURE

## I. General





## 1. Study of Economics—a Fascinating Occupation<sup>1</sup>

There was a time when economics was considered a dismal science. But those days are no more and economics is now not only a vital science, but a dynamic, growing and living science. Study of economics is a fascinating occupation, as it is a science which deals not with material or inanimate physical objects or forces or with their interactions, or with things which have no will of their own, but with man in society, his social conduct and mode of life.

While institutions like banking, insurance are simply mechanisms for regulating economic activities, laws and tenets of economics are never static, nor valid for all places or times. They grow as society grows and change as social behaviour changes. Laws which hold true for a certain place and time and phase of development of a society do not necessarily hold true in other circumstances. With the progress of civilization, social values have also changed. There was a time of witchcraft; there was a time when fierce wars were fought for religion. But gradually, as thought advanced, most of the older tenets did not only become obsolescent and completely decayed but also made room for new ones.

Similarly, in economics once strongly-held beliefs such as survival of the fittest, law of diminishing returns, Malthusian conception of economic forces and laissez-faire theory all have served their time and are discarded now with the change of circumstances, vogue, emphasis and values. The theory of the 'Economic Man' has seldom held true. A basically selfish man would have made of history a mundane and sordid tale. The great sacrifices made for the sake of one's religion, one's country, and for the ideals one cherished dear which have adorned pages of history cannot be explained by holding that man exists only as an economic animal. Man's economic stimuli are also forcefully conditioned by his spirit, mind and will. True economic laws are, therefore, the laws that govern the balancing of these various complex factors that also depend on the state of civilization, past traditions and culture. Gandhiji used to say that 'struggle for existence' should be substituted by 'struggle for mutual self-help' and he saw economics in that enlightened manner. As I said before, a socially dynamic science like economics cannot have fixed laws of uniform and universal validity.

A country has to find the laws best suited to its needs and genius, and apply them for the good of the common man and for his happiness. The question naturally arises what constitutes happiness. Comfort and luxury do not necessarily promote real joy of life. Development of wealth and material goods alone without elevation of mind would only lead to a lopsided economic de-

1. Speech at the sixth anniversary of the Foundation Day of the Delhi School of Economics, Delhi, 24 February 1955. *The Hindustan Times*, 25 February 1955.

velopment. For genuine happiness there should be a marriage of economics with morality. Our country will, therefore, have to find its own ways of providing the desired results and to study economics in that whole background.

The importance of a national institution like yours which has already taken long strides in its short span of six years lies in diverting study and attention to these problems and in finding right and apt solutions for them. Your School can be immensely helpful in formulating not only theoretical postulates but in directing studies to practical fields and watching reactions of various measures that are taken for uplifting the economy of the country and for providing a useful, sound foundation for promoting true weal and happiness of the common man. The School is fortunate in possessing a Director of Dr. Rao's<sup>2</sup> eminence and vision, and he can be relied upon to guide it along right lines.

World is now fast moving with the aid of science and technology and becoming one economic unit. A broad outlook has therefore to develop for the good of the humanity. The 'Beggar my Neighbour' attitude has nothing but seeds of discord and discontent for the world and no area or region can be permanently kept backward without constituting a danger for all.

Alien rule in India had for its own interests kept the economy of the country undeveloped so that field for exploitation of resources may remain ever open for their own initiative and enterprise. India has consequently remained terribly backward. Its national income *per capita* in 1948 was as low as Rs. 255 as against about Rs. 6,500 of the U.S.A. and Rs. 3,900 of Canada and Rs. 3,500 of the U.K. In industrial production and level of productivity, in rate of capital investment, and in other advanced economic activities the country stood nowhere as compared with the progressive nations of the world. Taking, for example, power production which is an index of a country's progress, India was right at the bottom of the scale with 17 kw as per capita production against 5529 of Norway, 4282 of Canada, 2541 of the U.S.A., 1229 of the U.K. In steel production India was also far behind—1.6 million metric tons against 84.5 of the U.S.A., 16.7 of the U.K. Its coal production was 36.8 million metric tons per annum while the U.S.A. raised 453 million metric tons and the U.K. 230 metric tons. The same is almost the story in other important fields. Naturally, therefore, as is usual with a backward country, 58 per cent of the national income was consumed on food alone. This subsistence level of exist-

2. V.K.R.V. Rao; b. 1908; educationist and economist; chairman U.N. Sub-Commission on Economic Development 1947-50; Founder-Director Delhi School of Economics 1948-57; Vice-Chancellor Delhi University 1957-60; Founder-Director Institute of Economic Growth 1960-63; member Planning Commission 1963-66; elected to Lok Sabha in 1967 and 1971; Union Minister for Transport and Shipping 1967-69, and for Education and Youth Affairs 1969-71; Director Institute for Social and Economic Change 1971-77; d. 1991; works include *The National Income of British India*, *Foreign Aid and India's Economic Development*, *Education and Human Resource Development* and *The Gandhian Alternative to Western Socialism*.

ence left no scope for either large-scale savings to be utilized for the country's development or for expenditure on life's other amenities and services and unemployment, misery, squalor, disease was left in the land.

The goal of attainment of Welfare State with reasonable speed means quick elimination of conditions that have led to this dismal state of things when the country is abundantly rich not only in potential material resources but also in manpower. The two have to be compounded by using right catalytic agents that can accelerate fusion and reaction. Freedom has given this opportunity to the present generation to take advantage of the virgin field left open for exploitation and to make efforts to lay foundations of a social structure where there is no exploitation of one sector by the other and where social justice prevails.

The First Five Year Plan<sup>1</sup> which has run four years of its course has, as you all perhaps know, well begun at the foundations and is ahead of the schedule in most respects. Perceptible improvement in the country's economic position as a direct result of the Plan has occurred. The increase in national income has been three times greater than that of population and there has been about 5 per cent increase in *per capita* income.

Agricultural production increased by 18 per cent over 1951 and industrial production by 40 per cent over 1950. Major schemes of irrigation in the Plan brought 2.8 million acres under it, and the supply of fertilizers, good seeds, improved methods of cultivation, removal of the shackles of landlords and rural indebtedness all contributed towards an increase in agricultural output and today the country is not dependent on import of foreign foodstuffs and controls no longer disfigure the economy.

Both in public and private sectors industrial expansion has taken place. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory, the ship-building yards, the Fertilizer Factory of Sindri, the Machine Tool Factory, the oil refineries, new textile mills, the cement factories, paper and glass works, etc. have gone into production and many have expanded their installed capacity. The variety and range of production have gone up. As a result of an increase also in the purchasing power of the masses all these products have found a ready market and the capacity for absorption has increased. The rate of fresh investment has also shown a welcome upward trend, and also the percentage of capital formation. Consequently, the country finds itself today in a happier state of financial stability, with a favourable trade and Sterling balance position. In social amenities also it is today better off, with thousands of miles of new roads built and

3. The revised First Five Year Plan for the period 1951-56 envisaged an outlay of Rs. 2,069 crore which was later raised to Rs. 2,378 crore. It laid emphasis on self-sufficiency in food, improvement of agriculture, irrigation and transport, expansion of power, enlargement of employment opportunities, development of welfare services and close coordination between public and private sectors.

improved railway transport position, many new hospitals, schools and other social services. The situation is brighter now and there is hope for future. The industrial worker's lot is in most cases better and he is assured of better amenities, wages, prestige, security and status.

The Second Five Year Plan<sup>4</sup> is now on the anvil. Big industry has now to receive greater attention, and a vast programme of expansion of production capacity and productivity of basic things, like coal, steel, iron, fertilizers, capital goods industries, has to be undertaken. Side by side, full thought has to be given to the question of banishing unemployment, which not only causes misery but is wasteful of human resources. Increased industrial production will clog the economy unless simultaneously more purchasing power is distributed to the people so that they may be able to purchase the products of industry. Unemployment on the one hand and increased production on the other are incompatible. Big industry is not labour-intensive and the vast manpower can find full employment only if simultaneously as a necessary adjunct employment creative cottage crafts and small industries are also encouraged. One should not encroach where the other can excel and spheres can easily be defined and laid.

With the improvement in tools and technique cottage craft can stand on its own and produce commodities with ready market and at economic costs. The country has all the manpower and vast unmeasured resources for development. Technical skill can connect the two for the country's welfare and for ushering in the socialistic pattern of Welfare State that takes care of the citizen from cradle to grave, and ensures full employment and an equitable distribution of wealth. Past experience has shown that money need not be a serious handicap in the execution of a big plan. Huge expenditure has been incurred in the foregoing years over the Plan, but no inflation has occurred. On the contrary, the index of prices is steadily going down. Care has to be taken that the swing does not go below the optimum level. Large numbers of primary producers will be badly hit if it is allowed to cross that point, as uneconomic return to these huge numbers which form the backbone of the country's economy will be suicidal for the country's well-being.

The old ideas of static economy based on orthodox budgeting, and on the principle that money is the only determining factor in building a country's economy, have become obsolete. Ever expanding Plans can now be undertaken with the increase in productive wealth of the country. As more and more goods are produced, the rate of savings out of the continuously growing out-

4. The Second Five Year Plan, which envisaged an outlay of Rs. 4,800 crore, aimed at structural changes in economy with emphasis on rapid industrial development, setting up of heavy industries for the production of capital goods and expansion of village industries. About 11 per cent of the outlay was allocated to agriculture and community development and 9 per cent to major irrigation projects. The Plan, drawn up for the period 1956-61, was approved by Parliament in September 1956.

put would increase and can be utilized in further enlargement of the Plan in an expanding spiral. The utilization of this wealth in productive schemes would obviously neutralize any tendency towards generation of inflationary pressures. Thus the capital base for production can go on continuously increasing and expanding as the Plan advances, and more and more of sound schemes can be executed without being deterred by the fear of lack of capital resources in the beginning. With the help of this automatic financing device large-scale expansion of roads, communication system, flood control measures, soil conservation schemes, etc. that add to the productive wealth or necessary services can be started without fear.

In the Second Five Year Plan therefore, without much risk, big schemes can be introduced which start giving results in short periods and create wealth and finance for new schemes and the Plan can go on growing with a snowballing effect. As a precautionary measure, however, a watchful eye will have to be kept and continuous appraisal made of trends and forces so that no inflationary forces are allowed to develop. This School can play a useful role in this appraisal and adjustment and in watching the reaction and impact of the Plan on the country's economy and in giving periodic advice. When the overall objective is the bringing about of rapid progress of a new order, public and private sectors both have to utilize the capacity for production of wealth for the country's good, so that they fit in together for maximum production, for avoidance of unemployment, for proper regulation and control of economy to serve the public good, for equitable distribution of wealth and for securing social justice for all. The worker has also to be assured a fair deal with living wage, reasonable amenities, coverage of risk against accidents and disease and a security against arbitrary punishments. Human relations have to guide industrial relations. Economic and social justice has to be assured for all citizens.

These are stupendous tasks but people are confident and hopeful and impatient to co-operate. Great enthusiasm lies awakened and full advantage of the encouraging trends has to be taken. The future of the country is in the hands of its young men who have to equip themselves well to be fit to undertake the long and hard journey towards the goal. Their will, their vigour and their vitality can make the journey shorter and smoother and speedier. They will no doubt rise to the occasion and be worthy of the country to which they belong and help in reviving its old glory so that it may pursue its path of peace and happiness for humanity with greater strength.

## 2. Publication of Book on Integration of Indian States<sup>1</sup>

The subject of the integration of Indian States is undoubtedly of great historical and political importance and an authentic book on the subject by a student of history and politics, capable of taking an objective and impersonal view of things and not influenced by extraneous considerations, would satisfy a genuine public need.<sup>2</sup> Whether Mr. Menon,<sup>3</sup> who had been himself prominently associated with the process of the integration would be an ideal choice for such a task, I cannot say. He has no doubt the advantage of knowing many things which may not be traceable in the written documents and State papers. But, on the other hand, it would be a super-human feat for him to eliminate the subjective element completely. He may have made such an effort but would have been handicapped by the inevitable human limitations.

Official documents should not ordinarily be used by persons who had occasion to handle such documents in the course of the performance of their official duties. This rule would apply with much greater force to papers marked 'secret' or 'confidential'. It is true that where letters so marked are sent to others they cannot, if they choose, be prevented from making public use of them. Proper restraint is, however, expected as a matter of public decorum and etiquette even from them. Isolated documents, White Papers or the like when published separately from time to time cannot possibly produce the impression which an integrated account of the central theme connected with such materials is bound to produce. Official memoirs and even confidential documents are used for giving a correct picture of noteworthy events but it is always desirable to wait for such presentation till all passions have cooled down, the controversies have ceased and the persons concerned have gone out of the stage. I must confess that I would have been glad if a well-known historian or a Board of historians had been appointed by the Government of India to write a book on the integration of States and the knowledge and experience of Mr. Menon had been fully utilised for this purpose; the draft for consideration of

1. Note to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. File No. 36/27/55-Poll.III, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.
2. Commenting on the revised manuscript of V.P. Menon's book, *The Story of the Integration of Indian States*, which had been submitted to the Government for permission for publication, the Home Secretary, A.V. Pai, had observed that "there need be no objection from the point of view of public interest to Government according permission to the publication of the book in its revised form which has avoided the detailed objections pointed out to the earlier text."
3. V.P. Menon; b. 1894; Reforms Commissioner 1942-47; Cabinet Secretary 1945; Secretary to Governor-General 1945-46; Secretary, and for some time Adviser, to Union Ministry of States 1947-51; Governor of Orissa May-July 1951; member Finance Commission 1951-52; founder-member of Swatantra Party; d. 1966; works include *The Story of the Integration of Indian States* (1956) and *The Transfer of Power in India* (1957).

the Board could well have been initially prepared by him. But things have moved pretty far and I doubt if it is now open to us to adopt such a line. Mr Menon has besides entered into some sort of commitment with the Rockefeller Foundation for this purpose and it is but natural that he should be anxious to fulfil his commitments.<sup>4</sup> So, all that I would like to do in the circumstances is to scrutinize the book with due care to guard against the possibility of any disclosures of unpublished secret documents<sup>5</sup> or of any other embarrassing episodes which may not be known to the public; not only the unpublished documents but also other matters concerning the important persons with whom Mr. Menon's association was essentially of an official character should not be allowed to find a place in the book. I find in the notes a remark that in view of a certain letter produced in a court, it would be difficult for him to say that the Rulers have voluntarily agreed to the merger of the States. It may be so but certainly we do not want a contrary impression to be given by a book published by one who was closely associated with the merger operations; it would hardly look very decent or honourable. Again, it appears that the book indicates that there were some differences between Sardar and the Prime Minister. I am not concerned with the veracity of the statement but it is certainly not desirable that an important book of this character which is likely to be read not only in this country but also abroad should say so, the writer being a high-placed public servant.

Shri Venkatachar's<sup>5</sup> objections regarding specific paragraphs have, it seems, been met. The revised transcript has been scrutinized by Shri Viswanathan<sup>6</sup> and checked by the Secretary. I have not gone through the book—and cannot expect to find time to do so although its perusal would have been highly useful and entertaining. If they are satisfied that there is nothing that can embarrass the Government and that no reference has been made to any unpublished secret documents and also that such documents have not been drawn upon for the book, Mr. Menon may be allowed to publish the book. The responsibility for such publication will be entirely his own.

P.M. may see.<sup>7</sup>

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G.B. Pant  
31-5-1955

4. Menon had been given a grant by the Rockefeller Foundation of the United States for writing the book.
5. Secretary of the States Ministry
6. V. Viswanathan, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs
7. Nehru, in his note of 2 June, wrote that as the revised manuscript had been passed after scrutiny and checking and the "Home Minister is now agreeable with the publication of this book ... I have no objection." The book was published in 1956.

### 3. Meaning of Independence<sup>1</sup>

On the eighth anniversary of the historic day of August 15, 1947 when this country shook off its chains of foreign domination, it is worthwhile to ponder over the significance of the status of independence that was acquired and to understand what the word 'freedom' actually connotes

In olden days when science had not made the phenomenal material progress that it has now done life was comparatively simple, and intercourse and communications being difficult the world could with impunity be divided into self-sufficient regional units that could within their geographical frontiers develop their society, culture and mode of life as they chose or as natural circumstances allowed them to do. Economic, political or like disturbances in one unit had hardly much effect on others and each one could legitimately shape its policy or pursue its path without giving thought to the repercussions or reactions it might produce on others, and consequently each was in a way completely free in that respect.

One could easily adopt a 'Beggar my Neighbour' attitude without bothering about any likely effects on oneself. Independence then had a different meaning; and one could live in a state of self-satisfied isolation. Those days are no more.

Science has shrunk the world. Distance, time and physical barriers of old do not circumscribe the life of the people. The globe has very much shortened and the separate societies and people of even far-flung regions are being tied into one by various strands and cords that are every day being woven. The partitions of mankind are dissolving and the human family idea is growing. Technology, economics, trade, commerce are getting inextricably tangled to cement this unity despite jealousies and rivalries that may still exist. Independence of one unit cannot therefore be that absolute conception of independence of yore, but an idea of freedom where there is inevitable interdependence brought about by untrammelled intercourse of peoples, ideas and cultures.

This new and developing and expanding relationship between nation and nation demands the existence of a climate of greater harmony between them and the acceleration of the pace and progress of the idea of a co-operative world federation. This implies the recognition of the fact that a relationship of neighbourliness, amity and understanding can only be magnified and enlarged if there is independence of thought and action and each unit is sincerely and genuinely prepared "to live and let live", to respect the other's dignity, self-respect and mode of life. There can be no imposition of any sort or variety of one over the other. There has to be an attitude of complete non-interference and real spirit of coexistence.

1. Article published in *The Hindustan Times* of 15 August 1955.



This has been the Congress creed and ethics for long, and the same policy has always been pursued and is being followed. It is essential, therefore, that freedom of the country to choose its friends, or to establish the needed relations with its neighbours or others, must be a real freedom not depending on the will or the pleasure of others. For that the country has to acquire the necessary strength to deter the aggressively intentioned not to contemplate any interference or obstruction in the pursuit of that course. Without adequate strength freedom cannot be retained for long or maintained and for the growth of this cherished spirit of independence it becomes essential that there is no occasion for the growth of any psychological complex of fear which weakness or timidity born of lack of strength inspires.

No doubt in the world of today even enlightened self-interest demands that alliances and friendships should have the basic and fundamental approach of advancing generally the cause of humanity as a whole. But to follow that aim without disturbance also requires the country to have adequate strength so that those who do not subscribe to such ideals are not by their physical or brutal force able to bully or cow down peoples to suit their nefarious designs.

It is the foremost right of an independent country to follow its own lights provided it does not prejudice the just and fair rights of others. Ours is a large country with large frontiers. It has, therefore, to have adequately large defence arrangements to protect its freedom, to retain and maintain it in full vigour under all conceivable circumstances. Its traditions and culture are foreign to the idea of an aggression. It never had and can never have such intentions, but the requirements of keeping its people secure and safe demand the highest priority to be given to all problems of defence.

Freedom of action or policy is, therefore, heavily interlaced with the acquiring of sufficient strength and vitality so that the right path may always be pursued for the attainment of the desired ends.

That is so far as protection of freedom against external dangers goes. Maintenance of the internal strength of the country for preserving the freedom and for letting its fruits be shared by all the citizens alike is of equal import, if not more. This internal vigour and health of the nation is the sum-total of the inner strength and capacity of its individual citizens. If the elements composing the structure of the nation are strong, resilient and vibrant the compound is automatically strong. Every citizen has, therefore, to feel the warmth of that patriotic spirit which has inspired men to make the supremest sacrifice for the good of the country or for winning freedom.

This patriotism has to be a living and glowing faith for all and not a mere theoretical sermon; it has to have a spontaneity and vitality that subordinates all other feelings or emotions. No citizen has any moral right to enjoy the privileges and bounties of freedom if he does not burn with that faith for his country or is not prepared to lay down his everything at its altar if such becomes the demand.

A dormant or weak sentiment of patriotism has no place in an infant democracy like ours which is fighting against all circumstances to improve the living conditions of its masses. Every citizen has, therefore, to swear supreme allegiance to the State as a whole, undivided and living entity, and to direct his fullest energies for its welfare, and to feel the impact of that allegiance and to live according to it. There should be complete harmony between his thought and action as otherwise there are sure to be pitfalls in the way of his conduct.

The country today has still to bear the evil effect of the divide and rule policy of the aliens that spread the poison of sectionalism, sectarianism and narrow parochialism in the body politic. This poison has to be completely destroyed for the acquisition of real internal strength and vigour. Common bonds and unbreakable ties have to be forged so that proper unity and cohesion are achieved and the soul and the strength of the entire nation are protected. Without such a consummation the harmony and the rhythm of the organism will not be maintained and it will ultimately become weak, and anaemic, unable to stand against any onslaught or danger or ill-health.

Emotional concord between various sections or communities has to be established so that there is genuine appreciation and respect for each other's culture, feelings and sentiments, and there is no artificiality or superficiality of behaviour amongst them. The approach has to be on the basis of justice and righteousness so that equal rights and equal opportunities guaranteed by democracy may have full scope for every citizen. Democracy recognizes only the all-embracing nation at the top and its devoted contributory, the true citizen, at the base.

Our ideal has for long been the attainment of a casteless and classless society. The same is the fundamental concept of a Sarvodaya society or of a Welfare State on a socialistic pattern which it is our object to reach. These are also the positive contents of the Constitution of India. Its Preamble, its Directive Principles, its Fundamental Rights all enshrine these cherished objectives. Independence or freedom acquire real meaning when these ideals are translated into action. Freedom also connotes economic progress. There is no real freedom if people in large numbers remain in the bondage of poverty, ignorance, squalor, disease and unemployment.

Freedom connotes the sense of protection from dangers and difficulties which beset a citizen from cradle to grave. This freedom has to be guaranteed for all citizens, irrespective of caste or creed or section. Alongside it has also to be remembered that a man does not live by food and cloth alone. Independence has to ensure besides the fullest development of every citizen physically, intellectually, mentally and spiritually so that he may have in full the joy of life and existence.

Independence in a democracy demands a large degree of discipline and restraint from its citizens, and also the presence of civic consciousness in the fullest measure. They have to be imbued with a genuine sense of social re-

sponsibility, equality and tolerance so that the democratic Government may function smoothly, by reason, discussion and understanding. Various groups and individuals who form society have to blend and harmonize their interests to serve the needs of the organic whole. No independent growth at the expense of this organic body is permissible or wholesome. If one part develops in violence to the needs of the total organism, the growth will be cancerous which ultimately tends to destroy the body and therefore also the part. A balanced and healthy and harmonious growth needs careful and delicate adjustments of the needs of the individual and of society. The individuals or groups have, therefore, to know their duties and obligations and perform their allotted tasks unhesitatingly and ungrudgingly and shake off purely unenlightened or selfish approach towards social questions:

Everybody has to respect the social order of the State and to let it function without disturbance or difficulty. Everything in the State depends on its people. It is their duty to maintain conditions of internal peace or order so that there is no diffraction or dispersal of the State efforts towards development and progress which is the primary function of the apparatus provided by the State to achieve. If the attention of this mechanism gets distracted towards maintenance of internal peace, the work of reconstruction gets retarded.

In a democracy, therefore, except for some outlaws and evil elements no citizen can lend his support or sympathy for action that disturbs internal peace, and there is never any room for organized resistance of any sort, for political or other ends. Power now vests entirely in the people and they have to conduct themselves in a reasoned manner and understand the implications of a democratic behaviour. People are citizens first and citizens last. They have to root out all ugly things existing in society—all corruption wherever it exists, every vice and public abuse and all forms of exploitation so that the dreamland of poet Tagore

Where the mind is without fear  
And the head is held high;  
Where knowledge is free;  
Where the world has not been  
    broken up into fragments by  
    narrow domestic walls;  
Where words come out from the  
    depth of truth;  
Where tireless striving stretches  
    its arms towards perfection;  
Where the clear stream of reason  
    has not lost its way into  
the dreary desert sand of

dead habit;  
Where the mind is led forward by  
Thee into ever-widening thought  
and action —  
Into that heaven of freedom, my  
Father, let my country awake.

may be attained as quickly as possible to give independence its real meaning and content.

#### 4. Be Good to Remember

When your Chancellor<sup>2</sup> wrote to me some time back to be present here on this occasion, I had a feeling of hesitation and wished to be exonerated. He was unsparing and I dared not disobey him. I am, however, glad to be in your midst to share your sense of joy and achievement, and to be, if only for a while, in the exhilarating atmosphere of a function like this when nostalgic memories of one's own days in one's own *alma mater* are revived.

It was in 1946 that I had the privilege of addressing the graduates here on a similar occasion.<sup>3</sup> Then the country was on the threshold of freedom and the prolonged epic non-violent struggle was about to bring in the cherished independence. Much has happened since then. In fact, these eight years after freedom have been packed with events as no corresponding period in our history has been. Trials and tribulations of the gravest nature have come. Freedom brought with it partition, and partition the agonizing pains and problems, the gravity of which surpassed imagination. Nonetheless the dauntless spirit that non-violence and truth had awakened under the inspiring and elevating leadership of Gandhi enabled the country to stand against the dangers as if in one solid phalanx. All the thundering clouds were soon dispelled, and the victims of the amputation operation were found succour, shelter, and to a great extent rehabilitated. The country forged for itself a Republican Constitution which gives cover to all its citizens, and provides for their uplift without distinction of high or low, caste, creed or colour, faith or belief; treats all of them evenly and throws open opportunity equally to each one of them. The country was united in one strand, and the feudal and anachronistic princely order was given

1. Convocation address to Allahabad University, 10 December 1955. Published by Allahabad University and also printed in *The Hindustan Times* of 11 December 1955.
2. K.M. Munshi; see also fn. 2 on p. 366.
3. For Pant's convocation address at Allahabad University delivered on 21 December 1946 see *Selected Works of Govind Ballabh Pant*, Vol. 11, pp. 421–41.

a go-by. People there also heaved a sigh of relief, having been shaken free from autocratic regimes. The free and fresh air of the Republican Constitution swept clean the atmosphere which was enveloping these areas. In world affairs notable contributions were made for resolution of tangles, disputes and differences that would otherwise have developed into conflagrations and catastrophes not only for the contestants but for the entire human race. The ideals of *Panch Shila* and coexistence, of truth and toleration, of understanding and sympathy held aloft by India were accepted and adopted by many who count in international matters resulting in a considerable easing of tensions and cooling of tempers, and in production of an atmosphere of rapprochement. That a nascent, underdeveloped and militarily not so strong a country like India should make its weight felt in global matters is a fitting recognition of the potency and nobility of its ideals and its mission for peace and truth. That is the tribute to the power of its spiritual heritage and its growing vigour. In domestic material fields also the progress was equally promising. The First Five Year Plan has achieved more than its targets. The Second one is before the country resolved to impart it a new look when it has traversed its course. Already big schemes of irrigation and power, of setting up of big basic industrial plants, of increasing national per capita income have met with success. Production is rising rapidly and increasing progressively from year to year. The economy is now exhibiting a new dynamism which can be utilised to add fresh momentum to further efforts.

The world is now moving fast, and the pageant of scientific discoveries and inventions and advance of technology is not only adding colour and variety to it, but is also changing its very face. Distance and time and geographical barriers have been robbed of their import and no longer hold nations or peoples apart. Discovery of the concealed power and energy that lies hidden in matter has opened an entirely new chapter and the atomic age brings humanity at the junction of the cross-roads of history. Mankind stands perplexed because a wrong turning at this momentous juncture may end in annihilation. Right road promises a millennium of plenty and prosperity for all. Here rests the responsibility of the rightly instructed person to find the correct path so that civilisation instead of being disintegrated into nothingness may have the chance of bringing real happiness to the human race made free from the bondage of want, fear and pain. This is possible only when the ideas of liberty, peace and goodwill for all are shaken free from the narrow prison of race and colour. Without the cultivation of the fundamental principles of life, based on charity, truthfulness and understanding that should govern human actions, the future prospect for humanity is dark and bleak. A purely utilitarian view of material ends alone is at the root of that way of thinking which overlooks the interests of the community in preference to one's own individual interests, or which collectively aims at the aggrandizement of a particular social group or a national group at the expense of others. So long as sincere efforts are not made

to aim at advancing the life of world community as a whole, and groups vie with each other to gain superiority or cling to the vain myths of social or racial inequality, there is hardly much hope for mankind. It appears desirable therefore that a synthesis of Western science with Eastern philosophy and spirit should occur to produce the right solvent that can dissolve world's ills and usher in an era of unprecedented progress and prosperity for the brotherhood of mankind so that the world as one cooperative field of enterprise goes forward in quick strides.

Prosperity like democracy and liberty is indivisible, and when science has shrunk global dimensions, and an intricate web of interdependent relations is enfolding the entire humanity, life becomes complex and the 'beggar my neighbour' policy recoils on oneself. Gone are the days of 'laissez-faire'. The assumption that forces of production alone determine human relations no longer holds the field. It is fully realised now that world cannot be built merely on economic foundations and that 'man does not live by bread alone'. Life is rich and varied and complex and is dependent not only on science and technology but on religion, on art, and on other finer values which make existence worth something and worth living for.

It would be a paradox if in the context of forces that are working to make world one, people here are led away by fissiparous tendencies to work against the indivisible unity of the country. The Ashokan pillar in Allahabad is the symbol of progress of spirituality and unity and reminds that this great land has from ages remained one and will continue to remain so for ever. Sometimes staggered by its immensity and vastness, and confused by the iridescent texture of its fabric, undiscerning strangers are apt to lose their way and come to an erroneous conclusion not comprehending the underlying unity that runs throughout the land in its culture, mode of life, and spirituality. India is fundamentally one, with a culture that binds different limbs into one harmonious entity. From the very ancient times India has been regarded as a pulsating organic unit. The literature of yore and the stories in the *Puranas*, the epic *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* all strengthen this concept of unity. Even taking into consideration historical times more than 2000 years ago, the political unification of India was a living fact during Chandra Gupta and Ashoka's reign. The achievements of Harsha, Kalidasa, Vikramaditya and Panini point to the inseparable bonds of oneness running at that time. Sankara, the great philosopher, travelled far and wide, and established his monasteries in the four extreme corners of India symbolising not only his personal victory but the spiritual unity of the land and of its inhabitants. The pilgrimage centres for devout people have also similarly been located in north, south, east and west. These mark the theme of fundamental unity and of the akin cultural throbbings radiating from India's heart which is one. The manner in which historical and other processes have brought a fully wholesome synthesis of numberless components and streams which together unite and harmonise into one composite

Indian culture is remarkable. Later in the course of history with the advent of Muslim rule this fabric had also got woven into it some artistic strands of their civilization and the whole entity now is the integrated Indian product that cannot be split or divided without destroying the fabric as a whole.

India is proud of this common heritage and also of the fact that despite the seeming diversity the unity of India is a living and growing reality, pulsating with life, vitality and dynamism. It has a soul of its own, rich and vibrant, which distinguishes it from everything else. This soul reasserted itself after the exit of the British rulers. The country, despite obstacles created by designing and fissiparous elements and the elements that proposed to take advantage of these forces for their own ends, rallied round to become one entire whole under the banner and cover of the Republican umbrella that was spread by the new Constitution. Thus the process for completing the picture of unity of this vast land, with its varying economic mineral and social conditions, and with its rich humanity forming a happy and homogeneous amalgam of a harmoniously and aesthetically blended colour scheme, took the longest ever strides.

Enlarging or adjusting of areas for administrative, linguistic, economic or other similar considerations are of little consequence in the larger perspective of the indissoluble bonds of common culture uniting the country as a whole, and such problems have to be dealt with without prejudice or emotion so that there is the fullest scope for the utilisation of the country's resources for the uplift of the people and for their all-round growth and development. A prepossessed and biased approach to such issues vitiates the very object in view and prevents their examination in an atmosphere free from passion. All such questions have to be considered on their merits, and it does not behove a mature people to give way to their sentiments and indulge in activities that do not promote amity and understanding and disturb public peace. Correct decisions can only be reached when minds are kept open and all propositions are weighed in a true balance and looked at objectively.

No room should be left in the country for things like casteism and communalism that tend to slow down progress and offend against the better social and moral conscience of the people and also against the consideration of national solidarity and unity. Our Constitution recognizes and assures the equality of all the citizens and forbids all distinctions of caste and creed. Such artificial partitions bring about disruption and are repellent to democratic life. A catholicity of outlook that has been the hallmark of Indian civilization has always to keep its vision wide and horizon extended. The message of peace and universal brotherhood, the championing of the cause of all suppressed and downtrodden, the war against colour prejudice that still persists in certain areas like South Africa, all get weakened if in India narrow divisions are tolerated and allowed to continue. Those of you who are going out into the sphere of action now have a special responsibility in this regard to see that conditions that allowed the existence of these pernicious divisions are eliminated without

the least delay. Social inequality prevents heart to heart cooperation, and free contact between various segments is not possible if they are placed not in one plane but at different levels. The cooperative Commonwealth pattern ideal starts with the axiom that society shall shed all its barriers, prejudices and divisions. A new social organisation which is to be forged to bring about as rapidly as possible a Welfare State on a socialistic pattern will get delayed in coming if brakes of divisions, and narrow sections and parochialism are continuously applied to retard its forward march. All such obstructions and impediments will have to be removed from its way to banish poverty, disease and unemployment from this ancient land with the utmost speed.

The pattern of the dreams of most of us when we were in the universities was different from those that you might be having now as conditions have happily changed beyond recognition and a completely different atmosphere now surrounds all of us. Then we lived in bondage, with a mighty foreign power dominating us, throttling all our aspirations, and denying us that free and clean environment that is essential for the flowering of intellect, mind and manhood. We had nothing we could call our own, and the country was a vast prison where there was no freedom of any sort. It is lucky that you have had no taste of those conditions. Opportunities of self-expression were denied to us, but there was no sense of frustration or dejection. The might and power of the rule that held sway over the country from a distance of 4000 miles was known, and everybody was alive to the superhuman effort that would be needed to shake this entrenched autocracy that then was virtually the controller of a large area of world's activities. Undeterred, and undismayed, and without any enervating feeling of inadequacy, the visions of a free India were always before us and most of us were actively thinking of how best to realize the goal swiftly. There is now a completely transformed scene before you. Vast opportunities and fields are now open for enterprise, talent and effort. Every direction and every avenue now leads to progress and to self-fulfilment, and there is scope for every intelligent and able-bodied citizen to make the fullest use of this opportunity not only for his personal advancement but that of the country as well. This is the background which now is available to young men to paint on the broad canvas that stretches wide open before them. The ladder by which they can ascend has no artificial impediments. They have only to gird themselves and brace themselves to put in the effort that can take them to the highest rungs. It is not that "many are called and few are chosen". It is now that "many will be called and many will be chosen". The opportunity is open to all equally and not to a select few. The highest positions in the land are for them to occupy. They have to take full control over future affairs and assume leadership in every walk of life. Time has therefore come for them to accept the challenge. The stimulus of struggle that is tied with the effort needed to lift the whole country to its deserved position should provide the necessary inspiration and zeal and open new ground for venture. Civilizations of nations have



grown, developed and advanced only when such challenges have been effectively answered and the obstacles overcome. Right spirit and love of adventure have to be cultivated not only in the realms of thought but also in other realms so that the output of energy finds expression in creative activities. Adventures like conquering of the Mount Everest, South and North Poles and similar like things give the required impulse not only for an individual but for society's stability and advance. Only that nation can achieve greatness whose young men exhibit dauntless courage and are prepared to take all risks in breaking new ground and in becoming pioneers of new age and civilization and achievement. For attaining these objectives the first and foremost necessity is of right discipline which is the prerequisite for reaching anything great. Those who do not know how to control their mind and thoughts and fritter their energies away in endless distractions are never those who can hope to acquire any distinctions in any field. They throw away their valuable spiritual resources and waste the priceless accumulation of their mental reservoirs. Discipline is not an imposition, nor only what manifests itself externally. Real discipline is what comes from within. It springs from one's innermost will. It is neither passive obedience nor unthinking surrender of one's individual judgement to others. It relies on self-restraint and on judgement which has a sound basis, a spiritual and moral basis. It is not an arbitrary judgement ignoring the decencies of life, of the eternal verities. It directs itself to steady pursuit of knowledge and to doing one's duty with full devotion and zeal so that when the alumnus walks out of the portals of the university he has the requisite training and background to work not only for his own individual advancement but for serving the community and the social order so that they may be protected against social mischief or misdemeanour. This art of learning how to discipline oneself is an integral part of the training that universities have to impart and which students have to inculcate. So when one hears of acts of indiscipline or vulgarity on the part of students one gets distressed. The future of the country, which has been looking towards its youth to take it out of the pits of sloth and poverty in which it fell during alien rule, gets dim if young men behave in an irresponsible manner. It would indeed be a gloomy and dismal prospect if the hopes and aspirations nursed for long are thus broken by its own youth. Some people ascribe the sense of indiscipline to the feelings of disappointment and frustration said to be existing amongst students. One does not know if it is really so. When a vast virgin field of opportunity which Freedom has opened is there for the exercise of all available talent and worth in the country and a mighty effort has to be put in by all citizens to build the edifice of the future structure one is completely perplexed by such statements. Reasons for the malaise have to be sought elsewhere, as lack of opportunity for growth and self-expression cannot and should not be one of them. The young men of today have no need at all to be frustrated. They can only be so if they consider themselves inadequate which undoubtedly they are not. If after

attainment of independence there remains even a lurking sense of frustration there is something wrong with that way of thought and the sooner that paralysing sense is destroyed the better for everyone. Livelihood is certainly important and one has to keep an eye on it, but besides that one has to keep in view also the goal of a higher purpose in life and a nobler objective. Frustration often comes easily in the absence of such a purpose and a proper sense of values. One should therefore place in front some desirable aim which one values above everything else so that balance is maintained even in the midst of vicissitudes.

It is a great privilege to have the benefit of having a university education which can provide the key to all doors of thought, wisdom and knowledge. Universities have always been everywhere the harbingers of nation's progress and prepared the appropriate soil for fertility of thought, so that it may be impregnated with right seeds for acquiring comprehension of knowledge and refinement of character that can connect material resources with a sensitive and creative mind. The forces so generated serve as a lever for the advancement of the country, of the world, and its civilization. The old Indian system of education, of which glimpses can be had from the relics of Taxila, Nalanda and others, not only devoted itself to the teaching of metaphysical side of knowledge but to art, literature and other exact sciences as they were then known and produced an integrated whole personality in its pupils who carried the message of East far and wide. The same spirit has again to permeate. No doubt experts in science and technology have to be produced in large numbers to attend to the instruments of production of material progress and wealth for the huge mass of humanity that lives here in a state of backward existence. The universities and technical and technological institutions have therefore to place themselves in the vanguard of a dynamic economy. For these ends the various institutions will have to be well-equipped for all scientific, engineering, economic faculties and link themselves organically with the activities of National Laboratories, a series of which have already been set up throughout the country. It is of utmost importance that fullest possible attention should now be devoted also to fundamental research of an original character. For long the country has depended on imported thought and it ill behoves that an ancient civilization that illumined world thought with its soft brilliance centuries back should continue to be so dependent. This sterility of thought has to be removed. I hope that in this sacred task the teachers will play their full part by inspiring the pupils to aim towards reaching the fullness of life, the grace of life, which teaches how to reconcile rights of the individual with the needs of society so that the world reaches a new stage of happiness and safety. Special responsibility devolves on the teachers to see that the university standards are not lowered, and that students do not become mere collectors of ill-assorted facts or narrow-viewed specialists and forget how to understand the close inter-relationship between different branches of knowledge which is indivisible

and needs delicate understanding and comprehension. Unless therefore the teachers are in harmony with the emotional and educational state of the students' mind, their relationship cannot ignite that spark of life and inspiration which is necessary for the flame to burn and illumine the path of progress. The students have on their part to resonate fully to the notes struck by their teachers, and listen to them reverently so that their stay in the university results in the growth of their mind, spirit and intellect. They have to develop the spirit of free enquiry and of mental vigour. They have to be inspired by a consuming devotion for acquiring knowledge. They have also to be governed by a sense of fellowship and understanding of points of view other than their own, to acquire self-confidence, a spirit of self-help so that they have a capacity to stand on their own legs and not to be a burden on others or on society. They have to imbibe the spirit of simple living and high thinking. In the days of our ancient glory a perfect and harmonious concord and relationship existed between the teacher and the taught and the result was the perfect symphony of the civilization that flowered and is still alive while most of the other parallel civilizations have gone under. Such a relationship should again exist.

To those of you who are receiving degrees and awards today I offer hearty congratulations. You are entering the battle of life and of the world. A multitude of social needs await you to excite the required response. Right reaction will strengthen the sense of citizenship that already lies reposed in you. You have to carry the message of service, understanding, tolerance, fellowship and humanity everywhere, to every nook and corner. You have to carry the mission of peace and truth to this war-weary and frightened world. You have to be the torch-bearers for banishing darkness and ugliness, for removing the age-old cobwebs from everywhere in the country so that it may once again revive its pristine glory and carry solace and comfort and light wherever needed. Above all, be good so that you may be great.

I wish you good luck, godspeed and success.



## EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### II. Promotion of Hindi

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1. To B.G. Kher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
April 17, 1955

My dear Balaji,<sup>2</sup>

I am grateful to you for acceding to my request and agreeing to guide the deliberations of the Hindi Commission as its Chairman.<sup>3</sup> The Hindi Commission, as you know, is to be constituted in accordance with the provisions of Article 344 of the Constitution. Its functions are of far-reaching importance and I am happy that in spite of your disinclination to undertake any such onerous responsibility, you have been good enough to make an exception in this case. I sent through Morarji a list of names which have been suggested for the membership of the Commission. All languages recognised by the Constitution have to be represented in the Commission and an attempt has been made to include the representatives of all in this list. I shall be grateful if you will please let me have your views about the personnel of the Committee. I would particularly like to know if there are any names of persons in the list or of others not mentioned therein, who, in your opinion, would be eminently suitable and are, therefore, to be included. Similarly, if there are any names which you would prefer to be left out, you might also give an indication to that effect. After hearing from you, I shall, in consultation with my colleagues here, prepare the final list and issue the necessary notification. I shall feel obliged if you will please let me have your comments on the draft terms of reference. Morarji has spoken to me about other connected matters. I fully appreciate your point of view and do not imagine that there would be any difficulty in doing the needful.

2. A visit to Bombay would have given me an opportunity to meet you but at present the Parliament session and other preoccupations do not permit me to do so.

Trust you are well. With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No. 43/9/55-Pub. I, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.

2. B.G. Kher; b. 1888; solicitor of Bombay; Chief Minister of Bombay 1937-39 and 1946-52; High Commissioner in London 1952-54; chairman Official Language Commission 1955; chairman Gandhi Smarak Nidhi 1956; d. 1957.

3. The Official Language Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of B.G. Kher in June 1955 to make recommendations for the "progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union", and fixing a time schedule according to which "Hindi may

## 2. Appeal to Shun Parochial Considerations with regard to Hindi<sup>1</sup>

I have listened to the speeches of hon. Members with a certain degree of perplexity. It appeared to me that they were anxious rather to give vent to their feelings, which had hardly any basis, than to address themselves to the actual proposition which is before the House. I have no desire to hurt the susceptibilities of any hon. Member here. I would rather like to take the sting out, if there is any still left. In the matter of the propagation and acquisition of the knowledge of Hindi it seems it is still being bandied about that Hindi is being forced upon the people. I do not understand this. Hindi was accepted as the official language—as the Constitution says, the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in the Devanagari script—by all the members of the Constituent Assembly unanimously whether they belonged to the south or to the north, to the east or to the west. All of them were agreed that Hindi should be the official language of the Union.

I had something to do with this matter when it was discussed and considered in the Constituent Assembly. For days we were engaged in finding a solution that would be acceptable to all. There were occasions when sentiments ran high and when people seemed to be possessed by some sort of fanaticism of which some examples were noticed even today. Fanaticism is of various types: it is positive as well as negative. So, there were some such men, but we tried to appreciate the views and the feelings of everyone and ultimately succeeded in hammering out a solution which was accepted by every one of the non-Hindi people. If there was anyone in the House who had still any grievance, then the dissenter did not belong to the non-Hindi-speaking region but to the Hindi-speaking one. So, the only question that we have to consider is this. Having unanimously accepted that Hindi shall be the official language of the Union and having again unanimously accepted that Hindi should replace English within fifteen years and having given sacred place to those doctrines and to those principles in our solemn Constitution, should we or should we not take steps to fulfil our promise and to carry out the objective which we had before ourselves? That is the main problem. Why should we be

gradually replace English as the official language of the Union". Among the members of the Commission were Balkrishna Sharma, Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, Madhavan Nair and Abid Hussain.

1. Speech in Lok Sabha, 27 September 1955. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 8, cols. 15470–8.

Several cut motions asking for a cut of Rs. 100 in the demand for supplementary grant for 1955–56 under the head "Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Home Affairs" had been moved with the object of discussing the composition and working of the Official Language Commission, also known as the Hindi Commission, which had been appointed in June 1955. The Commission submitted its report in August 1957. See also the preceding item.



angry about it? Why should we get annoyed at it? I see no reason. If we are earnest about our pledges and if we are faithful to the principles to which we have wedded ourselves, it becomes our moral duty to carry out the obligations which were implicit in them. So, it is not a matter affecting the Hindus or the Hindi-speaking people, it is something which concerns the honour of everyone in India. Every citizen owes allegiance to the Constitution and has to see that what the Constitution has laid down is fulfilled and is carried out.

The Commission was appointed by virtue of a provision which made it obligatory for the Government to appoint the Commission.<sup>2</sup> There is no manoeuvre about it, and there is nothing to manipulate. It is a straightforward thing that was done. I am sorry that the composition of this Commission has been attacked.<sup>3</sup> It is again difficult to take a correct view of things or to view them in the correct perspective when mind is confused, when prejudices have altogether warped one's judgment. If you will please look at the list, you will find that we have tried as well and, if I may say so, as faithfully as we could to carry out the directions that are embedded in the Constitution. It is laid down there that the fourteen languages which have been recognised by the Constitution as regional languages will be represented in this Commission. We have tried to carry out that direction and accordingly a representative of every single language is there. I do not think it is necessary to divide the representatives into those coming from Hindi-speaking or from non-Hindi-speaking areas. But it is wrong to say that the Hindi-speaking representatives outnumber others. They do not. In fact, they are only six or seven out of 20 or 21. We tried to find the best men from the country and I am thankful and grateful to Shri Kher, who agreed to undertake this very embarrassing, difficult and thankless task and also to the members who have agreed to bear this burden on my request. You,<sup>4</sup> Sir, are one of them and so I am thankful to you in particular.

I have here the names, and I would like hon. Members to hear the names and to see if any better composition could have been thought of or devised. From Assam we have Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua, Head of the Assamese Department, Gauhati University, to represent Assamese; Dr. S.K. Chatterji, Chairman, West Bengal Legislative Council, Calcutta, to represent Bengali; Shri Maganbhai Desai, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, to represent Gujarati; Shri D.C. Pavate, Vice-Chancellor, Karnataka University, to represent Kannada;

2. Article 344 of the Constitution laid down that after every five years after the commencement of the Constitution, a Commission be appointed to assess the progress made in the direction of replacing English by Hindi as the official language of the country and to recommend measures to accelerate the pace of progress.
3. K.M. Vallatharasu, member of the Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party and Lok Sabha member for Pudukkottai (Madras), had said, among other things, that south India had very little representation in the Commission as against north India, and that except the Congress no other political party had been given representation in it.
4. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar

Prof. P.N. Pushp, Amar Singh College, Srinagar, to represent Kashmiri; Shri M.K. Raja, Editor, *Dinabandhu*, Ernakulam, Travancore-Cochin, to represent Malayalam; Dr. P. Subbarayan, Member, Rajya Sabha, Madras, to represent Tamil; Shri G.P. Nene, Rashtrabhasha Bhawan, Poona, to represent Marathi; Dr. P.K. Parija, Pro-Chancellor, Utkal University, Cuttack, to represent Oriya; Sardar Teja Singh, ex-Chief Justice, PEPSU, to represent Punjabi; Shri M. Satyanarayana, Member, Rajya Sabha, Madras, to represent Telugu; Dr. Babu Ram Saksena, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Allahabad, to represent Sanskrit; Dr. Abid Hussain, Jamia Millia, Delhi, to represent Urdu; Dr. Amar Nath Jha, Chairman, Public Service Commission, Patna, to represent Bihar and also to bring to the Commission first-hand knowledge of the difficulties that have to be faced in the matter of examinations held by the Public Service Commissions.

Some hon. Members: He is no more.

Pandit G.B. Pant: Yes, he is no more; I am sorry. I would like to pay a tribute to his memory.<sup>5</sup> He was a great educationist and a friend of all good causes. I am sorry he is no more in this country of ours to help us and to guide us in many of the undertakings in which he took a leading part. Then, Dr. R.P. Tripathi, Vice-Chancellor, Saugor University, Saugor, to represent Madhya Pradesh; Shri Balkrishna Sharma, M.P., Delhi, to represent, if I may say so, Hindi; Shri Mauli Chander Sharma, Delhi; Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, Head of the Department of Hindi, Benares Hindu University, Benares; Shri Jai Narayan Vyas, Jaipur, Rajasthan, and Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha, Delhi, to represent Delhi.

I shall put the question squarely to the Members of the House, is there anything unfair about this Commission?

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The special request has been made to the Commission that while making its recommendations, it should pay due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the claims and interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi-speaking areas in regard to public services. That has been emphasized. It is now for the Commission to consider and examine all questions and I am sorry that an unnecessary prejudice should have been created against this Commission, which has indeed a very difficult task to perform, at this very initial stage; it hardly looks very patriotic or large-hearted either.

5. Amarnath Jha died in 1955.

Amarnath Jha; b. 1897; professor of English at Allahabad University and its Vice-Chancellor 1938-46; chairman U.P. Public Service Commission 1947-53, and Bihar Public Service Commission 1954-55; Vice-Chancellor Benares Hindu University 1948; awarded Padma Bhushan in 1954; d. 1955.

Shri Veeraswamy: There are prejudices against the Commission because the Commission is going to force Hindi in non-Hindi speaking areas.

Pandit G.B. Pant: No Commission can force anything on anybody. So far as I am concerned, I have repeated again and again that I have no desire to force Hindi on anyone, much less on those who want to resist even the irresistible attraction of Hindi; I hope they will be converted by the beauty of that language, by the exigencies of the situation and by the demands of national culture and respect of the country. The self-respect of the country demands a language which can be spoken everywhere in the country and which can be said to be the language of India. Can we allow English to be the national language of India? Can it continue for ever? We should apply our minds to the question rationally and dispassionately and then it has to be decided. I would have no objection if it had been decided by the Constituent Assembly that it should be Telugu, Tamil or English and then it would be right for us to acquire as much knowledge of that language as would have enabled us to carry on our work and to add to the dignity and the stature of our country by developing that national language. Those of us who happen to be in that position today owe a duty to the self-respect of the country to see that a national language is developed. At the same time, we have all to remember that we want regional languages to develop too. I fully appreciate the great height of importance of a language to the people who have been speaking that language and who have used that language from their infancy. We respect that sentiment. In our country, with all the diversity of its culture, there is also the basic unity. We do not want in any way to impoverish our culture; we want every regional language to grow and to have immense literature to feed the various States and to develop the best aesthetic culture that can be found in any country. So, there is no desire in any quarters—I will be sorry if there were any—to smother the growth of any language or to impoverish any language in any way. But the point is this, If we develop the regional languages in the different States and accept them for our regional administrative and other purposes, then what will happen to other things which concern the entire nation? Suppose you have Tamil in Madras, Telugu in Andhra and so on and so forth. Then it will not be possible at all to conduct our work here in English, because every region will be concentrating on its own language. If such a position is considered reasonable and if that stage is reached, then how are the all-India questions to be tackled? That is the question which has to be considered. There is no escape from this. Hindi alone can serve the all-India purpose and we have willy-nilly, whether we desire it or not, to carry out what the Constitution has prescribed and laid down for us in solemn terms.

Sir, some reference was also made to the examinations.<sup>6</sup> I have said be-

6. Vallatharasu had said: "If the Tamilian of the South or for the matter of that any non-Hindi-

fore and I am repeating this statement so as to remove whatever lingering misapprehensions there may still be in this regard. So far as public examinations are concerned, we do not want anyone to be prejudiced or to be placed at a disadvantage on account of his being born in a non-Hindi-speaking area and his having to compete with those who had been born in the Hindi-speaking areas. The examinations will be so held that the best of men can join our services and nobody, because of his ignorance of Hindi, should be left out if he is otherwise fit and deserves to be taken in our services. I do not see why after that there should be any concern or any apprehension in any quarters. I had made a statement here some time ago.<sup>7</sup> Mr. Vallatharasu referred to Rajaji's letter, but he did not say that Rajaji issued this letter, which was a copy of my letter to him, to the press in order to remove whatever misapprehensions there were. But I am sorry that Mr. Vallatharasu still sticks to his old prejudices.

Shri Vallatharasu: Personally I have no prejudice.

Pandit G.B. Pant: He has no prejudice, but he has fallen into a bottomless pit where he can see no light and where it is not possible for him to see the light, because he is so much drowned in the pit below that no light can penetrate there; but he is a vigorous and I think a well-built person and so I am not surprised. But so far as the language of Rajaji's communication to the press is concerned, it was intended to reassure people that there is no apprehension of any South Indian being put to any disadvantage because of the policy that the Government may follow in the matter of Hindi.

Several other questions were put as to what the Education Department is doing and what others are doing. I do not know if these questions are germane to the issue that is before us. Hon. Members all roamed over and beyond the fence; they did not confine themselves to the really relevant issues. If I were to follow them, I think no time would be left for other business. I have to respectfully submit that I earnestly and in all humility seek the cooperation of every Member of this House and of everyone living in the regions where Hindi is not the spoken language, in carrying out the aims and objectives which they and we together prescribed and laid down solemnly for our own and posterity's guidance in the Constitution. If we apply ourselves to this task in that spirit, I hope that we will attain all that we desire within the next 10 or 15 years. But, I also appreciate the feeling to which expression has been given

speaking individual is forced to answer questions in the public service examinations in Hindi, it will be a hateful day."

7. In a statement made in the Lok Sabha on 2 May 1955, Pant had announced that the Government had decided to be guided, in the matter of medium for examinations for all-India services, by the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee on 5 April 1954 recommending that "progressively examinations for the all-India services should be held in Hindi, English and the principal regional languages, and candidates may be given the option to use any of these languages for the purpose of examinations."

here. If we want to accelerate the pace of Hindi, then we have to win over those who are not familiar with Hindi today. We cannot in any way accelerate the pace or the march onward faster than we are doing except with their fellowship, friendship and co-operation. We appeal to them to build a national language, national in the sense that that would be used by all people in this country, that would be the language in which our ambassadors will be allowed to present their credentials in foreign countries. It is hardly befitting our dignity when our nationals in other countries have to present their credentials in English. I will just give a short story. The King of Afghanistan was here, I am told, some time ago.<sup>8</sup> There was a banquet here and speeches were delivered. The speech delivered by the representative of India was perhaps in English. Then he said, "I am surprised that you speak in a foreign language; what does your independence mean?" That is what I would like you to consider. That is the question which is put to us by many others. So, in the circumstances, let us examine the question in a spirit of friendliness for Hindi, with the realisation of the unity and oneness of our country. Parochial considerations and other petty matters which divide us from each other are not going to contribute toward the strengthening of the integrity and solidarity of our country or our nation. We have all to combine together to find place for everyone, to preserve our composite culture, to enrich every element in it and to see that what comes out is really worthy of the great traditions and the still greater position which, luckily, our country has come to occupy in the international world today.<sup>9</sup>

8. In fact, the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, Mohammad Naim Khan, had visited India in April 1955

9. After this, all the cut motions were rejected by the House, and the demand for supplementary grant of Rs. 6,62,000 was accepted

### 3. To B.G. Kher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
30th October, 1955

My dear Balaji,

I thank you for your letter of 8th October regarding the Central Government's views on the questionnaire issued by the Language Commission.

We are, of course, anxious to give the Commission every possible assistance and instructions are being issued to all Ministries and Departments to

1. File No. 43/28/55-Pub. I, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.

supply the Commission with detailed information on the progressive use of Hindi for official purposes. As regards the parts of your questionnaire which call for "opinions" and "suggestions", however, the position is not free from difficulty, as the Constitution clearly envisages that the decision of the President (i.e. of the Central Government) as to the steps to be taken by way of promoting legislation or issuing directions should only be reached after the recommendations of the Language Commission and of the Parliamentary Committee have been received. You will agree that formulation of any official "views" in advance may well lead to embarrassment and complications and may not be proper at this stage. I trust that the purpose you have in view will be served if senior Government officers concerned with these matters and even the Deputy Ministers of Government are considered free in their individual capacity to formulate and express their views on the basis of their personal experience and judgement and to place them before the Commission. With the assurance that such views will be treated as confidential frank and full evidence can I hope be tendered. If you feel that instructions on that point are necessary we will no doubt issue them.

Trust you are well.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

#### 4. To B.G. Kher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

6th December 1955

My dear Balaji,

I thank you for your letter of 11th November enquiring about steps so far taken by the Central Government in respect of progressive use of Hindi in official matters. I appreciate what you have said about it and I imagine that the information contained in the pamphlet entitled "Programme for the Development and Propagation of Hindi" of which I enclose copies may supply you a background of the present position. I also send excerpts from Maulana Sahib's speech in Lok Sabha on 29th March '54<sup>2</sup> and a statement issued by the

1. File No. 43/28/55-Pub.I, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.

2. Detailing the programme to abolish English as the official language of the Central Government in a period of 15 years, Maulana Azad, the Union Education Minister, in his speech

Congress Working Committee on 5th April.<sup>3</sup> The programme so far formulated is admittedly somewhat tentative as we have not sufficient material to do anything better or be more precise. We hope to be able to draw up a detailed precise programme on the basis of the recommendations received from the Commission after the matter has been fully investigated by it.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

given in the Lok Sabha on 29 March 1954, had observed that "at least five years should be allotted for replacing English by Hindi in the Central Secretariat, for completely adopting Hindi in all the Ministries and Departments, and for arranging the publication of all circulars, reports and Gazettes in Hindi in Devanagari script." He also appreciated the efforts made by the States of Travancore-Cochin, Mysore, Orissa and Assam to make Hindi a compulsory subject in schools at the secondary stage, and hoped that Madras and Andhra would follow suit soon.

3 See fn 7 on p. 344

## 5. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

June 12, 1956

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I enclose a letter from Rajendra Babu. He has suggested the adoption of Hindi as an alternative medium for the examination that is to be held for Special Recruitment to the I.A.S. At one place he has referred to the desirability of having Hindi as one of the optional subjects but considering the whole of his letter I feel that he does not want an optional paper to be set in Hindi but would like the candidates to be given option to answer their papers in English or in Hindi. I am not sure if the time is mature for such a change today.<sup>2</sup> Besides, the whole question is at present before the Official Language Commission and I doubt if it will be appropriate to depart from the usual practice till we have received their report and recommendations. I have not the faintest

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 451, p. 20, N.M.M.L.

2. In his letter of 7 June 1956, Rajendra Prasad had written: "As a beginning has some day to be made for the introduction of Hindi as one of the media of examinations, I thought this

idea of the decisions that they are going to take. There seem to be two practical difficulties. When all papers are answered in one language then a uniform standard can be easily maintained by the examiners, but if the examination is conducted not only in English but also in Hindi, two sets of examiners may have to be appointed and their methods of assessment and marking may not be identical. All these questions, in any case, will have to be examined in detail before Hindi is introduced as an optional medium. The people in the South are over-sensitive and they may have a feeling that by allowing Hindi-speaking people to use Hindi as medium of examinations, we were placing them at a disadvantage as they would have to answer their papers not in their own regional language but in English. I have not yet answered the President's letter. I had thought of consulting the Chairman, U.P.S.C., but he is not here.<sup>1</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

large-scale recruitment might well furnish an occasion, and this could be done with the least disadvantage to those who do not know Hindi."

3. Agreeing with Pant's viewpoint on the subject, Nehru replied to him the same day: "I appreciate the wish of the President to encourage Hindi in our Services and as an alternative medium for examination. I feel, however, that just at the present moment this would create a number of difficulties for us. You have yourself mentioned some of them. The major one of course is that we must avoid doing anything which creates further apprehensions in the South and in some other parts of India."



## LAW AND JUSTICE

### I. Penal Reform



## 1. Abolition of Whipping<sup>1</sup>

Many words are not needed from me in support of this motion.<sup>2</sup> I am confident that it will be accepted and endorsed by every hon. Member of this House. The Bill purports to repeal the Whipping Act and to delete the allied provisions from the Criminal Procedure Code. It virtually wipes out the references to whipping from our penal law altogether. I use the word "virtually" deliberately as there is a provision in the Prisons Act which lies outside the purview of the Parliament and consequently could not be covered by this Bill. We have, however, advised the States to amend the law on that subject and to delete that provision from the Prisons Act also.

Sir, to use a very mild expression whipping has always been regarded as a harsh sort of punishment. It has always been treated with considerable aversion. But still it has been in vogue since the commencement of British regime in this country, and perhaps that system of punishment existed even previously. A number of offences were punished with whipping up to 1909 when the Whipping Act of 1868 was amended. Many of the crimes which were liable to be punished with whipping were then taken out of this Act. The few that are left are contained in the existing Whipping Act, which is going to be repealed by this Bill.

In the olden days, a large number of persons were convicted and were sentenced to whipping. Their number has, however, been progressively declining, and those who are awarded this sentence now are no more than one-tenth of what they used to be in those times. It is a barbarous sort of punishment even for criminals. The advanced countries have put an end to this system. The British Act of 1948 abolished whipping. It is no longer allowed by the American Code either. It is not in consonance with our creed and spirit of non-violence. There are some things which bless those who give and also those who take. Whipping is just the reverse of that. It coarsens the man who is subjected to such punishment and has a coarsening effect on the society as well. The science of penology has made great advances in recent years. Our entire outlook towards crime and criminals has undergone a far-reaching and almost categorical change. The age when punishment was inflicted out of a spirit of vindictiveness is gone. No longer do we think of an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth. On the other hand, punishment is inflicted more with a view to reform and rehabilitate the person who is subjected to some sort of

1. Speech in Rajya Sabha, 24 and 25 August 1955. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. 10, cols. 950-2, 1066-73 and 1077-8.

2. Bill had moved that "the Bill to provide for the abolition of whipping as a punishment by repealing the Whipping Act, 1909, and further amending the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, be taken into consideration."

penalty by the State. The State is interested in the reform and rehabilitation of the so-called criminal, and also in the protection of society. The triumph of a penal system lies in converting a criminal into a useful and clean citizen. The sentence of whipping does not conduce towards that end. It, in fact, aggravates the tendency towards desperation. It embitters one and makes him still more callous. So, from whatever angle one may look at it, it serves no wholesome purpose, and no remedy short of its complete eradication and elimination can suffice. Consequently we have introduced this Bill. And I am sure that every Member of this House will welcome it, and it will be passed unanimously by the House, and if possible, today.

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Mr. Deputy Chairman,<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to the House for the reception that it has accorded to the Bill. On the whole it has been received with a chorus of approval. First, two esteemed speakers gave rather a disconcerting twist, at the start, to the debate but hon. Members did not allow themselves to be derailed or deflected from the right course.<sup>4</sup> It is all the more gratifying that everyone who spoke after them supported the Bill. Every speaker following had listened to them with due attention but their arguments apparently did not impress anyone. The two esteemed gentlemen are highly respected by every Member of this House and also by me. I am a respecter of age. Age has its advantages but it has also some inevitable drawbacks. It is difficult for men who are advanced in other ways to welcome advanced ideas enthusiastically or to shed off outmoded notions, even though they have ceased to be suitable to the changing times. They stick on to exploded theories even after they have served their purpose. Prof. Wadia quoted the scriptures, as he said. Well, everyone is free to quote the scriptures but he had to go back to the Old Testament—several thousand years back—in order to give us the saying from the *Book of Proverbs*. It is there that the words "Spare the rod and spoil the child", in a somewhat different form, were inserted. He still seems to cherish and adore them. I don't know if his own practice has been in accord with what he quoted from the scriptures as, according to one of his students, he had spared the rod and thus saved the children from being spoiled. Well, he is certainly familiar with pedagogy. I don't know how far he has taken an interest in pe-

3. S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao

4. A.R. Wadia and P.V. Kane, both nominated members of the Rajya Sabha, differed with Pant. Wadia said "whipping would be useful in connection with those people who are really bullies at heart, absolutely depraved individuals who deserve very little sympathy from respectable citizens, and in the case of such people a timely whipping would do a lot of good and would serve to reform them really much more effectively than perhaps a long term of imprisonment, or even a very heavy fine." Agreeing with Wadia, Kane said that "there are occasions on which whipping will do good."

nology. But even pedagogy no longer accepts the principle of not sparing the rod in order to build the moral frame of the child. It has a different principle now. The schools follow a different code and the teachers appeal to the intellects of the children by methods which are more agreeable and less repulsive. In fact, if Prof. Wadia has not gone back hundreds of years, to the antediluvian age, he could have found something which is much more humane and which was uttered many centuries after the quotation that he gave us was incorporated in the *Old Testament*. The maxim that was placed before us by the Founder of Christianity was a different one:

Whosoever shall smite on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.

That is what he said, and if he had borne that in mind, he would have perhaps felt that we would be nearer to realities of the present age, if we were to follow the maxim that was given to us by Christ. I do not think it is necessary for me to deal at greater length with the general observations that he made.

Dr. Kane<sup>5</sup> made certain very apposite remarks and with part of what he said I am in agreement. The system of penology should conduce towards protection of society. The methods that are devised in order to punish persons who commit crimes must serve the purpose of raising the standard of the society and keeping it secure, but we must examine that proposition a bit more closely. Society must have vitality. It must be *healthy, sound and vibrant*. Any thing, any mode or any course that is approved by the State, if it tends to undermine the moral frame of society or to result, in howsoever imperceptible a way it may be, in degradation or depravity, then it does not help the growth of the proper spirit and soul in society. So in order to protect society, we have to see that we do not have recourse to means that benumb the soul of society. Therefore, when punishment brutalizes, when it coarsens, it defeats the purpose of protecting the society because the society is then poisoned at its very root. When, therefore, the society takes all the character of the brute and loses the refined spirit of the man it gives away that for which alone it has a right to exist. So, while even choosing our methods of punishment we have to take care that we do not brutalize society or turn men into brutes. Then, further, how is the man who commits crime to be trained into a being who will not do so? That is necessary for the protection of society, for if the criminal is hardened further and becomes still more reckless and ruthless, then society is not protected. We should be able to reform him, to rehabilitate him, not for his

5. P.V. Kane; acting professor of Sanskrit in Elphinstone College, Bombay, 1909; professor of law in Law College, Bombay, 1917-23; Fellow of London School of Oriental and African Studies; Fellow of Asiatic Society of Bombay and Bengal; Vice-Chancellor Bombay University 1947-49; Fellow of Poona University 1953; President Indian History Congress 1953; nominated to Rajya Sabha in 1954 and 1958.

own sake alone, but for the benefit of society as a whole. So, we have to understand that there is no conflict between the protection of the society and the rehabilitation of the individual. We cannot forget that even if a person commits a crime, he is a citizen, and as a citizen we have to use means that will wean him away from the evil course and rehabilitate him as an equally decent member of a self-respecting society to be treated in such a way as to enable him to give up his evil habits and to help in his rehabilitation not only physically but also mentally and, if I may say so, even spiritually. That is what is to be kept in view. He should live as a good man in a live society. He must make a contribution towards the common weal and his own life should be one not of drudgery but of joy. That is the purpose which the present science of criminology places before itself. There is nothing soft about it, but examined even from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest, this is the only proper course that should be followed. So, while I subscribe to those principles which were enunciated by Dr. Kane, I feel that this Bill satisfies the conditions that he would place before himself in order to examine whether a measure is right or wrong and I hope he will be good enough to give some thought to what I have ventured to place before him.

Sir, certain other remarks were also made. One of the queries that was put was: why not abolish death sentence?<sup>6</sup> Well, time may come when death sentence may be abolished, but hon. Members may be aware that even recently there was a Commission in England and after a very thorough investigation the British Parliament decided to retain the death sentence though as many as seven years ago that Parliament had abolished the sentence of whipping. Death sentence is one which involves a certain amount of agony and bereavement—nobody likes it. But death by itself is not humiliating; it does not degrade or deprave anyone. Only we lose a man, which is certainly a very serious consideration and which will, in course of time, be given full thought. But there is no comparison between death sentence and corporal punishment. In the one case you deal with a man in such a manner that he remains alive, but becomes a burden and, for the matter of that, a very ugly and discomfited sort of burden on society, while in the other case you get rid of a man with great regret and sorrow, but at least he can do no wrong to yourself or himself thereafter. So there is a lot of difference between the two.

Then it was also observed that third degree methods should be put an end to.<sup>7</sup> I entirely agree. I am not at all prepared to countenance third degree meth-

6. Kane had remarked: "If you want to abolish entirely this punishment of whipping, why don't you abolish the death sentence? . . . Unless you reform the whole system, such piecemeal legislation is bad".

7. While welcoming the Bill, Bhupesh Gupta of the Communist Party had observed that the spirit which motivated the Bill should be extended to a wider field and measures should be taken by the Government for the "abolition of third degree methods and for penalising third degree methods and all that practice."

ods, and whenever any case comes to the notice of any Government, whether in the States or in the Centre or anywhere else, which raises a suspicion about any authority having taken recourse to third degree methods notice should be taken immediately and effective steps initiated to put an end to the repetition of such malpractices.

Shri Bupesh Gupta: Sir, I appreciate what he says, but may I ask the hon. Minister if his Government in that case would be prepared to pass a legislation banning the use of third degree methods and making those who practise them liable to criminal charge and punishment?

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: I would advise Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to prepare a non-official Bill and to introduce it in this House, because I do not know of any law that allows third degree methods today. Of course, I do not know if any non-official body or political parties still have recourse to third degree methods for political purposes. Of this, I am not aware. I am not thinking of Telengana but so far as the officials are concerned, certainly they are not expected to have recourse to third degree methods under any circumstances whatsoever.

Then some reference was also made to the law of detention. Well, I may say at once that I would be glad if there was no such law on the Statute Book, but for that we all should combine and create and develop a true sense of civic responsibility in our country. If we mislead citizens, if we place before them the downward course which only carries people on to the slippery field, then a brake has to be applied and if people are too clever, then appropriate methods have to be devised for that purpose. The object of all legislation is the protection, the amelioration and the elevation of the citizen and the society. So long as that purpose is ensured and the methods are not indecent, we have to have recourse to them. We won our freedom only recently, we are still an infant state and we have to see that we do not get ourselves entrapped by false doctrines and thus endanger the security or safety of this hard-won freedom.

Sir, a reference was also made to firing.<sup>8</sup> Nobody likes it. I hate it. I entirely agree that no occasion for firing should arise but the problem to which we have to apply our mind is that if an occasion arises in which there is no alternative to firing or if one is compelled to have recourse to firing, or if to save 1,000 men one has to be harsh with two, three or four men, then should the havoc be allowed or should the impending disaster be averted by taking a bold but a very unpalatable step? That is the problem. In these circumstances what should one do? All of us should apply our mind to that. But whenever there is such an occasion we should also examine the position dispassionately and not try to exploit it politically because that does not help anybody and does not create that atmosphere which would put an end to the possibilities of

8. Asking for stopping all sorts of firings which took place in the country on innocent mobs. H.C. Mathur, independent member of Rajya Sabha from Rajasthan, had remarked: "How does he (Pant) find it possible to order shooting of mobs with the spirit with which he has brought forward this Bill?"

occasions when recourse to firing becomes inevitable. So all of us have a duty even in that regard and I think if everyone were to remember the part that he is expected to play in free India, then such occasions would be rare if they were ever to arise at all.

Sir, one of the speakers—Mr. R.P. Sinha<sup>9</sup>—delivered an illuminating speech. He referred to the reports on corporal punishment and to other literature which had a bearing on this subject. It is not necessary for me to reiterate what he said but it seems to be the opinion of almost all who have studied this subject—psychiatrists and others—that whipping does not serve the social purpose. If that is accepted then the abolition of whipping becomes necessary, essential and we have to do it. I think that it will lead to better results. In fact those who are subjected to this sort of punishment tenaciously adhere to the course and do not give up their evil ways. They become still more desperate and they become sadists. I have several quotations with me as to the real and far-reaching disastrous effects that this sort of punishment produces in the person who is so punished and the reaction that it produces at the same time in the entire environment. It is bad from every point of view. I was told that in the U.S.A. this punishment still obtains in many States. I have a book before me which mentions only one State where it is allowed—no other State. Dr. Wadia referred to the case of a husband being whipped for beating his wife. Well, I think, that case might be treated as an exception at least in the West where there are so many cases of divorce. But we have not got many here but we do not require any exception in such cases either.

Some enquiry was made as to the number of cases in which whipping was awarded by the courts. I find that in Bombay while the number of convictions came to 8,30,727, the number of persons who were subjected to whipping was 44.

Shri H.C. Dasappa: During what period, Sir?

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: In 1953. In all other States the total number in 1951 came to 1,595 while the corresponding number of offences would be I think many many lakhs. So it is a very small proportion.

Shri H.C. Dasappa: In some States there was no whipping at all.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: Yes; Mysore. Well, they have been ahead of us. Mysore has stolen a march in many ways and this is one of them. I should like to congratulate this State for the lead it gave in the matter.

Sir, I do not think there are any more points to which I am required to refer and the time too is almost coming to an end. I again thank the hon. Members of the House and hope that the Bill will at least at this stage be passed unanimously.<sup>10</sup>

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x

9. Congress member of Rajya Sabha from Bihar

10. After this, the motion that the Bill be taken up for consideration was passed and clause by clause consideration of the Bill was taken up.



Sir, I do not propose to reply to Shri Bhupesh Gupta's remarks at any length. I think he will not regard it as a discourtesy if I fail to attach sufficient significance to what has fallen from him, but there is one thing which he has said and which calls for a contradiction. He has a fertile imagination and a prolific one, too. He said that there had been recourse to firing four thousand times during the last four or five years. I do not know how he has collected that information or whether he has also taken into calculation firings by individuals other than the members of the Government—I mean those belonging to the police or other authorities—well, about their number I have no knowledge.

An hon. Member: Crackers, I suppose.

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: But so far as firings by the police are concerned, what he has said is fantastic. I have nothing more to say.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Will he please give us the number?

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant: It should be four thousand, if we do not give him the number.<sup>11</sup>

11. After this, the Bill was passed by the House

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**LAW AND JUSTICE**

**II. High Courts**



## 1. To Ravi Shankar Shukla<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 10, 1955

My dear Shuklaji,

In his letter to you of the 21st August, 1954, in reply to yours of the 11th August, 1954, Dr. Katju promised that he would have the question of the powers of the Chief Justice *vis-a-vis* the High Court examined here.<sup>2</sup> The Home & Law Ministries have since examined the matter and the result is set out in the enclosed note. I think you will be interested to read it. As Dr. Katju anticipated, the discussion has turned out to be purely academic. In practice the Chief Justice should have sufficient freedom of action and power to take decisions in most of the administrative matters but whether his brother Judges will repose that confidence in him will depend on his personality.

Yours sincerely  
G.B. Pant

1. File No. 11/45/54-Judl., Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.
2. Ravi Shankar Shukla, the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, in his letter of 11 August 1954, had requested K.N. Katju, the then Union Minister for Home Affairs, to let him know "how far the functions of the High Court are different from the functions of the Chief Justice in matters administrative at least". He had made this request on receiving a letter from B.P. Sinha, the Chief Justice of the Nagpur High Court, saying that he was sometimes unable to regulate the affairs of the High Court as the Judges met every week and took decisions which were taken to be decisions of the High Court.

## 2. To M. Hidayatullah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15th Sept. 1955

My dear Justice Hidayatullah,<sup>2</sup>

The Speaker has already written to you about the notice of a question sent by

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 387, p. 238, N.M.M.L.
2. Muhammad Hidayatullah; b. 1905; Chief Justice Nagpur High Court 1954-56, Jabalpur High Court 1956-58; Judge Supreme Court 1958-68, and Chief Justice 1968-69; Vice-President of India 1979-84; works include *Democracy in India and Judicial Process* (1966) and *The Constitution in the Parliament and the Court* (1972).

## SELECTED WORKS OF GOVIND BALLABH PANT

Shri Kamath in regard to the delays in the disposal of cases in the Nagpur High Court. The Speaker has sent me a copy of the letter. He was good enough not to admit the question in the Parliament, but the facts, if correct, disclose a disquieting state of affairs which may need immediate attention for their improvement. I trust you are already giving your attention to the matter. In the interests of judiciary it is necessary to ensure that its reputation is not besmirched by unbusinesslike ways and methods being adopted by any Judge in handling his case files. Recently, cases of such delays also came to notice with regard to another High Court and the Judges had to be told that if their behaviour did not accord with the dignity and prestige of their office effective steps, however distasteful, might have to be initiated to regain and maintain the reputation of the judiciary and, failing other effective alternatives, the President may have to be advised to appoint a Committee of Enquiry so that, if necessary, suitable action in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution may be taken. I trust I will not have to say the same thing about your delinquent Judges in the hope that they will improve their methods and clear off their old cases quickly. I shall be thankful if you are good enough to send me your views and the facts relating to the matter referred to by the Speaker.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

3. Hidayatullah, in his reply of 23<sup>rd</sup> September, wrote. "I assure you this matter will be rectified within the next month and there is no reason to think that there would be any such question hereafter."

### 3. To M. Hidayatullah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

27th September, 1955

My dear Justice Hidayatullah,

I thank you for your letter of 23rd September and for your prompt response in the matter. I am glad to see that you are determined to get the judgements written and delivered within the next month or so. I shall expect to hear from you that this has been done according to the time-table fixed by you and no occasion for like complaints will arise hereafter. I hope that your continued interest in the matter will result in further improvement.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 387, p. 235, N.M.M.L.

#### 4. To Rama Prasad Mookerjee<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 18, 1955

My dear Justice Mookerjee,<sup>2</sup>

It is with considerable regret that I am writing to you about certain distasteful matters relating to the disposal of work in your court brought to light recently as a result of enquiries made from the Chief Justice, Calcutta.<sup>3</sup>

In August 1953, notice was given of a question in the Lok Sabha regarding long delays in the delivery of judgements by some Judges of the Calcutta High Court. The question was disallowed, but the Home Minister, Dr. Katju, took that opportunity of bringing the matter to the notice of the Chief Minister, West Bengal, who passed it on to the Chief Justice, Calcutta High Court. At that time, the Chief Justice, Calcutta stated that the allegations contained in the question were not incorrect as applied to certain Judges. He also indicated various steps he had taken to improve the state of affairs.

Again, in July 1955, two Members of the Lok Sabha gave notice of a question on the same subject. In order to preserve the reputation of the High Court, and in order that such matters are best left out of discussion in Parliament the Speaker was again good enough to disallow the questions and instead preferred to bring the matter to the notice of the Government of India as also to the notice of the Chief Justice, Calcutta. I also wrote to the Chief Justice, Calcutta, on the subject and have been in correspondence with him since. He has supplied to me lists of outstanding judgements, copies of which were circulated among the Judges. The statistics given by him reveal a very disquieting situation, particularly about the work relating to your Court. It appears that on 31st July 1955, you had as many as 24 judgements to be delivered; and that only after repeated requests from the Chief Justice, although judgements were delivered in 16 of these cases after 19th August 1955, in 15 of them the judgements were not signed and handed over to the Court's office up to the day the Court closed for the long vacation! Of these 16 cases judgements had been due in two cases for a year and a half since the hearing of arguments, in five cases for a year or more, in one case for nine months and in the remaining cases from three to eight months, and in one case only for about a month and a half. Judgements still remain to be delivered in 7 cases and in the eighth case it has been delivered in part on 8th September 1955 after being reserved on

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 400, pp. 104-5, N.M.M.L.

2. Judge, Calcutta High Court

3. P. Chakravarti

20th December 1954. There are besides six cases in which judgements delivered on 8.9.1954, 8.9.1954, 11.5.1955, 13.6.1955, 24.6.1955 and 7.7.1955 were not signed and handed over to the office up to the day the Court closed for the long vacation.

From the statistics supplied by the Chief Justice, it appears further that the position as on the 31st July 1955 or on the day the Court closed for the last long vacation, was by no means exceptional. Long delays have systematically occurred both in the delivery of judgements and in signing and handing over judgements already delivered.

You will agree that by any standards this situation is deplorable and would not reflect credit on the reputation which a High Court Judge must enjoy to inspire confidence and respect in the people. It is very necessary that the fair name of the judiciary should be protected and every effort should be made to see that there is no cause for legitimate grievance or complaint from the public with regard to the manner of disposal and the methods adopted in dealing with case files. I am, therefore, constrained to say that the state of work and arrears as found in your Court and the way things have been allowed to drift leave much to be desired; and that from a person enjoying your status and holding this high office a better code of behaviour is expected. It becomes my unpleasant duty to bring these facts to your notice and to convey to you the displeasure of the Government of India for this unsatisfactory state of things. I hope that you will soon pronounce and deliver judgements in pending cases and henceforward be good enough to adopt more businesslike methods of disposal; otherwise it might become almost impossible to resist pressure of public opinion for taking more drastic measures in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

4. In his reply of 13 January 1956, Rama Prasad Mookerjee wrote: "I feel relieved to inform you that all the outstanding judgements referred to by you in your letter were delivered—whether by me or by the other members of the Division Benches—before the year had closed." He added: "I should however point out that all the cases referred to by you were heard by different Division Benches and not by me sitting singly. Both the members of each such benches are equally responsible." See also the succeeding item.



## **5. To Rama Prasad Mookerjee<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
18th January, 1956

My dear Justice Mookerjee,

I thank you for your letter of 13th January. I am glad that your case file is now almost up-to-date. I appreciate the fact that for delay in cases heard by Division Benches all members share responsibility but certain control and regulation is expected of the senior members constituting the Bench. Your analysis also confirms the view that delay could have been avoided by proper forethought, methods and planning. I share your feeling that a bit more of alertness and vigilance on the part of the Judges would have yielded better results and cases would not have been permitted to drag on so long. Also as I wrote before, it hardly redounds to the credit of the highest judiciary in the State that judgements should not be signed and handed over to the Court immediately after their pronouncement. This practice exposes it to legitimate criticism which detracts from the position of eminence it occupies in public administration. However, it is good that after your attention was drawn to the state of affairs in your Court you have taken steps to bring your case file up-to-date. I hope that with your assurance of due vigilance in future there will be no occasion for such complaints to arise.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1 J N Papers, File No. 414, p. 318, N.M.M.L.

## **6. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
19th January, 1956

My dear Jawaharlalji,

You will recollect that I have been in regular correspondence for some time with the Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court about arrears of cases there.

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 414, p. 319, N.M.M.L.

Three of the Judges were found to be the greatest defaulters. They had taken an inordinately long time in disposal and in some cases had even held over signing of transcripts long after the actual pronouncement of judgements. The Chief Justice's efforts ultimately succeeded in the liquidation of arrears in the courts of two Judges. Justice Mookerjee still lagged behind. I had to send a warning letter threatening him with drastic measures if he did not improve.<sup>2</sup> This had its effect. His reply to me shows that he has exerted himself and has now brought his file up-to-date. I enclose copy of his letter as also of my reply.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

2. See *ante*, item 4.

## 7. To K.M. Munshi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
22nd June, 1956

My dear Munshiji,<sup>2</sup>

Talwar has just handed over to me your letter of 18th June concerning the selection of a successor to Mr. Justice Brij Mohal Lal who has just retired from the Allahabad High Court. I am sorry for the embarrassment that has been caused to you in consequence of the reference of your letter on the subject to the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court for his comments.<sup>3</sup>

At the initial stage Sampurnanand<sup>4</sup> had sent the relevant papers on the subject including a copy of your own letter to him dated 27th April, 1956. All

1. File No. 11/44/55-Judl. I, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.
2. B. 1881; scholar and politician; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement: member A.I.C.C. 1931-37; Home Minister Bombay 1937-39; founder-president Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan 1938-71; Union Minister of Food and Agriculture 1950-52; Governor of Uttar Pradesh 1952-57; founder-member Swatantra Party (1959); wrote several books in English and Gujarati; d. 1971.
3. In his letter of 18 June, Munshi, the Governor of U.P., had complained that his letter on the subject had been sent, without any reference to him, to the Chief Minister Sampurnanand who had passed it on to the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court for comments and when the comments were received they were, again, sent directly to him (Pant). He had added: "I venture to submit that this is an unusual procedure which, in my opinion, is wrong in principle and very prejudicial in practice. If there is any such rule warranting such a procedure, it ought to be, I feel, amended."
4. B. 1891; eminent Congressman from Varanasi; scholar, educationist, journalist and politi-

these papers were sent to the Chief Justice of India according to the usual practice. On receiving them the Chief Justice of India desired your views to be communicated to the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court so that the latter might reconsider the matter in the light of the observations made by you. He wanted to have the comments of the Chief Justice of Allahabad in this regard before expressing any opinion. Accordingly a reference was made to the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court by Sampurnanand at my instance and his reply has been received. The existing rules lay down that "when the Chief Minister or the Governor proposes to recommend the name of a person different to the one put forward by the Chief Justice, the Chief Justice should be informed accordingly and his comments invited." In this particular case, as has been stated above, your letter had to be sent to the Chief Justice of Allahabad in accordance with the wishes of the Chief Justice of India. In view of the rule quoted above he was perhaps fully justified in asking us to adopt this course. Even in the absence of a definite rule the Home Ministry would be expected to supply all material considered necessary by the Chief Justice to reach a correct and just decision. What I have stated above will clarify the position. You will I hope agree that nobody is to blame in the matter. The Chief Justice of India too would perhaps not have suggested this course if he had any doubts about its propriety or if he had felt that he would thereby be embarrassing you.

You are perfectly entitled to express your opinion unreservedly and it would hardly have been fair if you had refrained from stating fully and frankly your views on this important matter. I fully agree with you and regret that the Chief Justice of Allahabad did not give them the weight they deserved.

The procedure that is now in vogue appears to have been laid down after due care and consideration. I shall, however, give further thought to it and see if any amendment is necessary or desirable.

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

cian, member Swaraj Party; member U.P. Legislative Council 1926-29, thrice secretary of U.P.P.C.C.; member A.I.C.C.; elected to U.P. Legislative Assembly in 1937, 1946, 1952 and 1957; Minister in U.P. 1938-39 and 1946-54, and Chief Minister 1955-60, Governor of Rajasthan 1962-67; d. 1969.



**LAW AND JUSTICE**

**III. Mercy Petitions**



## 1. Comments on Mercy Petition<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt about the facts of the case or the guilt of the accused.<sup>2</sup> The Courts as well as the assessors, whose verdict was unanimous, have found him guilty of murder. I am not sure, however, if the evidence, which is exclusively circumstantial in character, would have been sufficient to sustain the petitioner's conviction in the absence of the confession made by him before the Magistrate. The motive is not clear. The petitioner is nearly 68 years of age. It is possible to hold, in the absence of definite proof, that he was actuated not by lust but indignation over Kamallamma's illicit intimacy with another person. In the totality of circumstances, and specially out of regard for his age, I would commute the sentence of death to one of transportation for life. Instead of being hanged, he might be allowed to suffer and die in jail.<sup>3</sup>

G.B. Pant  
7.3.1955

- 1 Note to President Rajendra Prasad File No. 32/26/55-Judl. I, Ministry of Home Affairs, N A I
- 2 Madhavan Pillai, aged 68 years, who had been sentenced to death by the Sessions Judge of Trivandrum, had filed a petition for mercy. He had been charged with the murder of his 17-year-old step grand-daughter Kamallamma. The prosecution's version was that he wanted to molest the girl, while the plea of the defence was that he resented her "illicit intimacy" with her paramour
- 3 On 12 March, Rajendra Prasad ordered the sentence of death to be commuted to one of life imprisonment

## 2. Comments on Mercy Petition<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt about the facts of the case.<sup>2</sup> The evidence of the petitioner's own children conclusively establishes his guilt. The Sessions Judge as well as the Assessors have fastened upon him the guilt of murder. The High Court has confirmed the capital sentence passed by the Sessions Judge. The petitioner no doubt acted in a merciless and brutal way. I am not sure, however, if he inflicted the injuries with a determination to put an end to the life of

1. Note to President Rajendra Prasad. File No. 32/65/55-Judl. I, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.
2. Karuppanan *alias* Peria Mokkian, aged 45 years, was charged with the murder of his wife, who, according to him, was not attending to the household duties properly. He was sentenced to death by the Sessions Judge of Ramanathapuram (Madras).

his wife. She remained alive for several hours and had she been looked after properly even then she might perhaps have been saved. In view merely of the doubt that I have about the intention of the petitioner I would commute the sentence of death to one of transportation for life.<sup>3</sup>

G.B. Pant

3.5.55

3. On 7 May, Rajendra Prasad commuted the sentence of death to one of transportation for life.

### 3. Comments on Mercy Petition<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt about the facts of the case.<sup>2</sup> It is amply proved that Bind Basni Lal died of arsenic poisoning. There is evidence to connect the petitioner with the crime. So far as the preparation of *bhang* is concerned, the petitioner is proved to have crushed it for his uncle. The evidence about his mixing arsenic with *bhang* consists only of one witness, but the discovery of arsenic near the spot where the drug was crushed confirms the testimony given by the witness. The statement of the deceased that he had been given poison by the petitioner cannot be ignored. The Sessions Judge, who had the opportunity of observing the behaviour of the witnesses and of appraising the worth and merit of the statements made by them, was fully satisfied that the petitioner alone was responsible for causing the death of the deceased. The story, as it was unfolded in the course of the trial, finds ample support from the first information report which was lodged soon after the death of Bind Basni Lal. The assessors did not agree with the Judge, but the High Court has fully examined every argument that was advanced or that could be advanced on behalf of the petitioner and has given a very elaborate judgement in support of the findings of the Sessions Judge. The petitioner is only 24 years old and one is reluctant to send a youth, only on the threshold of his career, to the gallows. But the method of poisoning for killing even one's worst enemy is repulsive and abominable. In the circumstances, I am afraid, the petition has to be rejected.<sup>3</sup>

G.B. Pant

27.5.1955

1. Note to President Rajendra Prasad. File No. 32/76/55-Judl., Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.
2. Mangla Prasad, aged 24 years, had been charged with the murder of his uncle Bind Basni Lal and sentenced to death by the Sessions Judge of Benares.
3. President Rajendra Prasad in his note of 30 May, suggested that the death sentence be



#### 4. Comments on Mercy Petition<sup>1</sup>

Clemency knows no bounds. As the High Court in the last sentence of its judgement has indicated the possibility—and perhaps the propriety—of commutation of sentence and the President is satisfied that there are adequate grounds for such commutation, capital sentence need not be executed and the petitioner may in lieu thereof be sentenced to transportation for life.<sup>2</sup> I would, however, observe that every case has to be considered on its own merits. Neither the decision in this nor in the other two cases cited in the note need be considered as laying down any principle for future guidance.<sup>3</sup>

G.B. Pant  
29.12.1955

commuted. He argued that "there is ample evidence of all the material witnesses being on terms of enmity with the petitioner and his family", and that "there is hardly any evidence ... to show that the petitioner had any motive whatsoever for murdering his uncle by poisoning him." In view of the observations made by the President and also taking into consideration the age of the petitioner, G.B. Pant, in his note of 4 June, agreed that the "sentence of death may be commuted to transportation for life." The death sentence was finally commuted by the President.

1. Note to Under Secretary Gulzar Singh. File No. 32/159/55-Judl., Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.

The petitioner Gafloo, aged 26 years, had been sentenced to death by the Additional Sessions Judge of Sagar (Madhya Pradesh) on the charge of murdering Inder Singh, the husband of Mira, who, after being abandoned by him (Inder Singh), had started living with the petitioner, but, after some time, wanted to go back to her husband.

2. While confirming the death sentence, the Judges of the High Court had remarked that the law could not protect the accused but it was for the State Government to decide whether it was a case in which mercy could be shown to him. President Rajendra Prasad, commenting on an earlier note of Pant recommending rejection of the mercy petition, had, in his note of 9 December 1955, favoured commutation. He also referred to two cases in which murders had been committed in similar circumstances and death sentences had been commuted.
3. The death sentence was ultimately commuted by the President on 2 January 1956.



FORMER RULERS OF STATES

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## 1. Progress of Planning Work in States<sup>1</sup>

I have gone through the tour notes of the Inspection Officers of the Planning Commission's Programme Administration. I am glad to find that the work in the States is being examined at the spot from time to time. I will be glad to meet the officers sometime at their convenience. It is not necessary that all of them should see me simultaneously. They can consult their own convenience and arrangements may be made accordingly.

2. It would perhaps be advantageous that we have a Section under a responsible officer of the States Department to examine the various reports and the tour notes. The States which have been given little attention in the past by their rulers are lagging behind others and need special attention. The tour notes can serve the desired purpose only when care is taken to give effect to the suggestions made therein and also to make adjustments in the light of criticism of the tour of officers. Every State should be inspected once within six months if at all possible. If the present number does not admit of such frequent visits, it may be increased. I attach considerable importance to the developmental part of our work, as the advancement and to some extent the loyalty of the inhabitants, specially of the border States, will depend on the concrete results that are achieved in these areas.

3. I find that excepting Bhopal and, to some extent, Vindhya Pradesh, other States have not been able to make full use of the funds allotted to them. Manipur, as compared with others, has been given an inadequate grant. But out of the amount placed at the disposal of the local authorities, less than half is likely to be spent by the end of the current financial year. We should immediately open at least two more Extension Blocks in Manipur. The development activities should be conducted with greater vigour and the schemes may be revised and enlarged without delay in consultation with the local people. I shall discuss this matter with the Chief Commissioner on his arrival. Tripura has done better. But both these States being far removed from their advanced centres are suffering for want of qualified personnel. This deficiency has to be made up as early as may be possible. I wonder if a record of the progress of the planning work in each State can be maintained in a consolidated form. I would be glad if monthly reports are regularly furnished by the Chief Commissioners and others of their achievements from month to month. These papers when not needed might be sent back to me.

G.B. Pant

4.2.55

1. File No. 66/1/55-AN, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.

## 2. To Mir Osman Ali Khan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
5th February 1955

My dear friend,<sup>2</sup>

This is with reference to Your Exalted Highness's letter of 11th December to the Prime Minister enclosing notes on certain matters which are worrying Your Exalted Highness. We have given our very careful consideration to these in the light of the arrangements made between you and the Military Government in 1949 which subsequently resulted in the agreement entered into between the Government of India and Your Exalted Highness on the 25th of January 1950. Article I of this agreement provides for the payment only to you during your lifetime a guaranteed privy purse of Rs 50 lakhs per annum free of all taxes. Under the same agreement a separate provision has to be made for your successor at the appropriate time keeping in view the circumstances then prevailing. You will doubtless agree that no occasion has yet arisen for any reopening of the settlement in view of the express provisions in the agreement.

Again, under separate arrangements entered into with Your Exalted Highness it was decided in 1949 that an allowance of Rs 50 lakhs would be paid to you from the State revenues to be made up as follows:-

1. Rs 25 lakhs in lieu of your previous income from Sarf-e-Khas.
2. Rs 25 lakhs for the upkeep of palaces.

The arrangements clearly envisaged the payments to be made to Your Exalted Highness during your lifetime. In December 1953 you were pleased to agree willingly to forgo the allowance of Rs. 25 lakhs per annum for the upkeep of palaces. I need hardly assure you that the State Government would continue to honour their undertaking to pay you during your lifetime the allowance of Rs. 25 lakhs per annum in lieu of your previous income from Sarf-e-Khas.

We are writing to the Hyderabad government about the rent of 'Bella Vista', as this building now vests in them. I hope it will be possible for the State Government to settle this question with you to the mutual satisfaction of both.

The question of your exemption from the liabilities to pay stamp duty on documents executed in Hyderabad is under examination separately and you may hear from me about it later.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No. 14(22)/56-57-PM, Sr.No.62B, P.M.O.
2. B.1886; succeeded as Nizam in 1911; Rajpramukh of Hyderabad from January 1950 till its dissolution as a State in November 1950; d. 1967.

### 3. To Ravi Shankar Shukla<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
17th May 1955

My dear Shuklaji,

The Maharaja of Bastar, whose estate, as you know, is under the management of Court of Wards, is at present receiving a pocket allowance of Rs. 600 per month. The Court of Wards besides fully meet the expenses of running his establishment and kitchen in his palace. The Maharaja has made several representations to this Ministry with regard to the inadequacy of this allowance.

The Maharaja has also made a writ application before the Supreme Court against the taking over of his estate by the Court of Wards. While it seems clear that the State Government have full authority in law to take over the estate under the Court of Wards, it is just possible that the Supreme Court might hold that the principles of natural justice have been violated by the State Government not having given the Maharaja an opportunity to show cause before his estate was taken over. This is a matter, however, on which we shall have to await the outcome of the petition filed in the court.

I feel that, considering that the Maharaja has a privy purse of Rs. 2,10,000 a year and has a few liabilities or obligations to discharge, we can afford to be more generous with the allowances which we give to him. For a prince of his standing, a pocket allowance of Rs. 500 does seem very inadequate. I think we should be able to pay him an allowance of about Rs. 2,000 per month for his pocket expenses as this would represent less than 1/8th of his privy purse. Or, if the State Government prefer it, they might make the Maharaja a lump sum allowance of Rs. 5000 per month and ask him to meet the expenses of his palace establishment, kitchen, etc. also. I shall be glad if you would consider this suggestion and give necessary instructions accordingly. It is likely that on his allowance being increased, the Maharaja will withdraw his case from the Supreme Court.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No. 18/3/55-Pub. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.

#### 4. To Ravi Shankar Shukla<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

22nd May, 1955

My dear Ravi Shankarji,

The question of the allowance to be given to Rani Sahiba of Raigarh, Shrimati Mangalmoti Devi, and her children has been engaging my attention since you spoke and again wrote to me about it early this month. I regret to find from the previous papers that the Raja of Raigarh has been living a reckless and indecent life. In the circumstances your suggestion for placing the estate of the Raja under the management of the Court of Wards has already been approved. You have further taken action on account of the mandamus petition filed by the Maharaja of Bastar. It seems to be still pending in the Supreme Court. One does not know exactly when it will be decided. As to the result, I trust that the decision will not go against your State as the position has been made clear by the amendments recently approved by Parliament.

I quite realise that in the meantime the Rani and her children have to be given reasonable allowance. She has already suffered a lot on account of the vagaries of the Raja and she has to spend not only for herself but also for the children. We are accordingly allotting Rs. 4,000 per month for the upkeep of the Rani and the maintenance and education of the children. The matter, if necessary, can be reviewed after the estate has been taken over by the Court of Wards

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

1. File No. 18/9/55-Poll. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.

#### 5. To Nawab of Bhopal<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

26th June 1955

My dear Nawab Saheb,<sup>2</sup>

I naturally missed you during my last visit to Bhopal. I, however, fully appreci-

1. File No. 7/1/55-Pub. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.

2. Muhammad Hamidulla Khan; b. 1894; Nawab of Bhopal; member Standing Committee of



ate the reasons which induced you to go out of Bhopal on that particular occasion. Bhargava gave me the message. I had also duly received the letter you sent me last month.

I have looked into the question of income-tax on the *mansab* granted to you in lieu of your jagirs.<sup>3</sup> I had occasion to deal with a similar question when zamindari rights were abolished in U.P. and in their place annuities were sanctioned for 40 years in the form of bonds. The zamindars made a representation to the Government of India for the exemption of their annuities from income-tax but their claim was not upheld. According to law, when zamindari or jagirdari rights are extinguished and a cash payment is made periodically by way of compensation for it, the money thus received is liable to income-tax just as any other income. It no longer retains the agricultural character of a zamindari or jagirdari. So I am sorry I have not been able to comply with Your Highness' wishes. We have all to abide by the law of the land and you will, I trust, treat this matter as finally closed.

With regard to the proposed sale of the dakota to some foreigner, I am informed that there is a ban on the export of this type of aircraft and I think it would be embarrassing to Government to permit private owners to sell their planes in foreign markets. You will recall that in 1953 you made an enquiry about the possibility of exporting your dakota aircraft and the Secretary, Ministry of States, informed you about this ban. The shortage of such aircraft still continues to be acute in our country and consequently the policy of the Government is not to let any dakota go out. I should, however, like to help you if I can. If you so desire, we shall consult the Indian Airline Corporation or the Defence Ministry to ascertain if they would like to buy your aircraft and if so, on what terms.

I have consulted the Railway Ministry about your railway share and I understand that the Ministry will be prepared to acquire your interests for Rs. 20 lakhs.

Bhargava mentioned to me your desire to purchase some angling equipment for your personal use at a cost of about \$ 1500. I have asked my Ministry to make necessary arrangements so that you may have no difficulty in getting equivalent foreign exchange.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

G.B. Pant

Chamber of Princes; represented the States before the Indian States Enquiry Committee; Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University 1930-35; participated in the First and Second Round Table Conferences 1931-32; Chancellor of Chamber of Princes 1931-32 and 1944-47; d. 1960.

3. The Nawab of Bhopal, in his letter of 3 May, had written: "I agreed to the giving up of my Jagir of an income of approximately Rs. 4 lakhs annually for the cash annuity of Rs. 1,64,233 because one of the most important conditions laid down was that this income which had always been treated as agricultural income would be exempt from agricultural income-tax."

## 6. Draft Letter to an ex-Ruler of a Princely State<sup>1</sup>

[Before 6 August 1955]

My dear ... ,

You might recollect that the Prime Minister sent you a letter on June 15, 1954, suggesting a voluntary contribution of 15% of your privy purse towards development and reconstruction, and an investment of 10% of it in the National Plan Loan.<sup>2</sup> Your Highness replied on June 25, 1954 that thought was being given to these suggestions. More than a year has passed by since and further communication in the matter from you is still awaited. As you know, the country is passing through a momentous time in its history and is engaged in the mighty tasks of reconstruction and development for laying down the foundations of a Welfare State and raising the general standard of living of the people. These tasks will require tremendous efforts when all the energy, talent and resources available will have to be fully mobilized. The First Five Year Plan is nearing its success and the Second one is on the anvil. You are no doubt aware of the objectives which this Plan is trying to reach and the huge resources that will be needed to achieve them. People are all astir and have been responding to the calls made on them and are eager to do their fullest bit to help the country march towards better economic and social conditions. I trust that this eagerness is equally shared by you. In that belief I am reminding Your Highness of what the Prime Minister has said in his letter of June 15th and earnestly hope that your Highness will be pleased to agree to contribute 15% of your privy purse towards development and also to invest another 10% of it in Government loans.

I shall be grateful for an early reply.

With kind regards,                      ~

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 369, p.45, N.M.M.L.

The draft was sent to Jawaharlal Nehru for approval.

2. The National Plan Loan was issued by the Government of India in April 1954 to raise funds from the public, specially small investors, to finance the different developmental schemes of the Centre as well as of the States.

## 7. To Tukoji Rao Holkar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 30/31, 1955

My dear Maharaja Saheb,

I have received your letter of the 28th July, 1955. I am sorry to hear that Your Highness has been ill and hope you have recovered completely.

2. I have again considered carefully the matters raised in your letter. Your Highness is no doubt aware of the difficulties which the Madhya Bharat Government are having about accommodation at Indore. I would in these circumstances advise Your Highness to hand over the Rampur Kothi building so that it may be utilized by the State Government.<sup>2</sup>

3. Regarding the jewellery, I have looked into the matter again and regret that it is not possible for me to reopen the decision taken by my predecessor after a very careful consideration of all aspects of the case.<sup>3</sup>

4. I do not know if, in these circumstances, a further interview regarding these matters will serve any useful purpose. I shall of course be glad to see Your Highness, should you so desire, but I suggest that action may kindly be taken meanwhile to hand over Rampur Kothi.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No.1/17/55-Poll. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.

2. Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar of Indore, in his reply of 3 October, wrote that arrangements for vacating the Rampur Kothi were "well on the way and it will not be long before the building is handed over."

3. The Maharaja, in his letter of 28 July, had written that the jewellery left by his father should be restored to him as it was "made out by him out of his savings after his abdication"

## 8. To Nawab of Bhopal<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
9th October, 1955

My dear Nawab Sahib,

I thank you for your letter of 17th August in response to mine about contribution to national purposes from your privy purse.<sup>2</sup> When I wrote to you somehow or the other the letters which you had sent previously to the Prime Minister and of which you have been good enough to send me copies had not been kept in the file. The omission has caused you some trouble and I regret it. I appreciate what you have written to me but I still think that the suggestions made to you before are worth your reconsideration. I hope that it will be possible for Your Highness to accept them fully. Since you are away I do not consider it necessary to write to you at length.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No.14(31)/56-57-PM, Vol. III, Sr.No.113B, P.M.O.
2. The Nawab of Bhopal, in his letter of 17 August, had written that since he had been spending, for the last two years, about 6 lakhs a year on various philanthropic works, he could invest only Rs.12 lakhs in the next five years, or in a lump sum, in the Government loans. He had added: "Whenever I can, I promise you, I shall not hesitate . . . to render such humble assistance in the progress and development of the country as may lie in my power."

## 9. To Rasiklal Parikh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
16th November 1955

My dear Rasiklal,<sup>2</sup>

In your letter of the 4th September you had referred to the desirability of laying

1. File No.36/26/55 Pub. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.
2. Freedom fighter; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; secretary Kathiawar Political Conference; member Constituent Assembly 1948; elected to Lok Sabha in 1952 but resigned and elected to Saurashtra Legislative Assembly; Minister in Saurashtra 1952-54, and Chief Minister 1954-56; Minister of Revenue Bombay 1957-60.

down certain principles in regard to the maintenance allowance to be paid by a Ruler to his wife, his sons, etc. in the event of a dispute arising between them. I find that this matter was discussed with the Rajpramukhs. It was agreed on that occasion that no hard and fast principles need be laid down but that if difficulties arose in any particular case, the good offices of the Government of India would always be available and we could, after taking all circumstances into account, lay down definite lines of guidance as to how a Ruler was to treat his relatives. I feel that this is the appropriate way of dealing with questions of this kind.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

## 10. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 28, 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Your note of 17th November about the house of Maharaja of Patiala.<sup>2</sup> The Maharaja has had several talks with me and has also been in correspondence with us. The general principle with regard to sale of princely houses in Delhi has been that 75 per cent of the appreciated site value has to be paid to Government. The Maharaja had agreed to accept this arrangement. He was accordingly permitted to sell the House to W.H.O.<sup>3</sup> who are in occupation and have offered to purchase it for Rs. 25 lakhs. Perhaps he is now in search of better offers. I wonder if it would be proper for him to sell the house to others in preference to W.H.O.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No.3/5/55-Poll. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
2. Nehru, in his note of 17 November, had written that the Maharaja of Patiala wanted to sell his house in New Delhi in order to "settle his financial problems", and that three foreign missions in New Delhi, particularly the Embassy of Czechoslovakia, had expressed a wish to buy his house. Nehru wanted to know what policy was being adopted by the Government in such cases.
3. World Health Organisation

## 11. Privileges of Former Rulers of States<sup>1</sup>

I agree.<sup>2</sup> Arrangements made and assurances given at the time of the merger need not be disturbed but for very adequate reasons. So far as petty matters are concerned, Government can well afford to be a little generous. It seems that during the absence of the Prince the guards were withdrawn completely and not posted to any other place. As was mentioned in the instructions, the guards were to be posted not only for providing protection but also for maintaining the dignity of the princes whose States were merged.

G.B.P.

1.12.55

1. Note to Home Secretary, A.V. Pai. File No.30/10/55-Poll. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.
2. On a complaint made by the Maharaja of Idar against the decision of the Bombay Government to withdraw the palace guards from his official residence during his temporary absence from there, the Joint Secretary, V. Viswanathan, in his note of 30 November, had written: "The cost involved in providing these palace guards is not heavy and it seems to me rather unnecessary for the Bombay Government to raise this controversy at this stage . . . . I would suggest that we advise the Bombay Government to continue the *status quo*."

## 12. Hindu Law and Former Rulers<sup>1</sup>

I am in general agreement.<sup>2</sup> Our society is no longer stagnant. So our laws too have ceased to be static. There had been changes in the system of laws even in the olden days. The process of adjustment is almost continuous. We can no longer have a different set of laws for the Princes as distinguished from the people. Hindu law should govern Hindus as well as the Rajas and their descendants, and similarly Muslim law the Nawabs and their successors. The

1. Note to Joint Secretary, V. Viswanathan. File No.36/30/55-Pub. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.
2. Commenting on a query made by the Maharaja of Jaipur, Sawai Man Singh, whether the marriage of a Hindu Ruler with a Hindu lady not necessarily belonging to the customary clan or caste would be recognized by the Government as valid and whether the issue of such marriages would be entitled to succession, V. Viswanathan, Joint Secretary, in his note of 4 February, had written: "I have no doubt in my mind that the answers to the Maharaja's questions must be in the affirmative." He had added: "It would hardly be proper for us to apply standards to the princes which are contrary to the laws made by us in an attempt to reform our own society."

question of succession to the *guddi* is not strictly identical with that of succession to other estates. Political considerations cannot be ignored and ultimately the recognition of a person as heir to the *guddi* rests with the President. So persons born of non-Hindu wives to Hindu rulers have to be excluded but within the Hindu fold no disability should ensue on account of ruler's marriage outside his own clan. As no written reply is to be sent it is not necessary to write a long note. I shall speak to the Maharaja<sup>3</sup> when he meets me next.

G.B.P.

6.2.56

3. Sawai Man Singh (Maharaja of Jaipur); b. 1911; Ruler of Jaipur State 1922-49, and Rajpramukh of Rajasthan 1949-56; served in British army during Second World War; elected to Rajya Sabha in 1962; appointed ambassador to Spain in 1964; d.1970.

### 13. Income Tax Exemption to Official Residences of Former Rulers<sup>1</sup>

The notification granting exemption to official residences of Rulers was issued after a thorough examination of the entire question. The list was prepared in consultation with the Rulers and the houses which existed outside their respective States appear to have been included with full knowledge about their being so situated.<sup>2</sup> The following extract from a letter addressed to the Central Board of Revenue on June 25, 1953 clarifies the position:

2. In most cases only one palace has been selected for the purpose of income-tax exemption. The justification for including more than one palace in a few cases is that the Rulers concerned reside during part of the year at their usual residence at the capital of their erstwhile State and the remaining part at their palace at a Hill Resort or some other place. On general grounds also some measure of concession in this respect is justified as the Rulers have in their possession a very large number of palaces, the maintenance of which costs them a good deal and from which they derive no income. These palaces are treated as inalienable property which devolve, intact, upon their successors to the *Gaddi*.

1. Note to Joint Secretary V. Viswanathan. File No.32/2/56-Poll. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
2. V. Viswanathan, in his note of 13 February, had written that the Central Board of Revenue contended that the official residences of the Rulers lying outside the territories of their former States should not be granted exemption from the income tax.

I have not been able to lay my finger on any list of the houses that were situated, in India, outside the States concerned and which are included in the notified list, nor have I seen any estimate of the likely income that would ensue if the exemption were withdrawn. I doubt if the levy of income-tax on such houses will yield any substantial amount of income. It would hardly be fair to withdraw such exemption where only one house though situated in the old British India was notified as the official residence. The Princes have been pressing for the exemption of their official residences from Estates Duty. We have not been able to meet their wishes in this regard even partially. In any case it would be, I think, advisable to discuss the matter with the Rajpramukhs who would be attending the conference next month before taking any decision. I shall be glad to discuss the matter with the Chairman, Central Board of Revenue, if he wishes to do so.

G.B. Pant

14.2.1956

#### 14. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
5/6 March 1956

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I thank you for your letter of 18th February about Raja of Suket.<sup>2</sup> The Raja has also seen me since. He has a large family and I appreciate his difficulties. I have every sympathy with him but find it difficult to raise his privy purse or to move the Finance Ministry to sanction a special grant for the marriages of his daughters. Such a proposal would set a new precedent and would not be accepted by them. It may, however, be possible to give him an advance to enable him to meet the expenditure on the marriages of his daughters. The amount thus advanced would be recovered later in easy instalments from his privy purse. I am addressing the Raja accordingly.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No.9/2/56-Poll-III, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
2. Supporting the request of the Raja of Suket (Himachal Pradesh) for a special grant for the marriage of his daughters. Rajendra Prasad, in his letter of 18 February, had written: "His seemed to be a case which might receive an exceptional consideration in view of his large family of two wives, two daughters and five sons."



## 15. To Maharani of Gwalior<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25th March, 1956

My dear Maharani Saheba,

My Secretary has already acknowledged your letter of March 8. I was delighted to meet you that day. As desired by you I made enquiries about the Residency Building. It is at present occupied by the Comptroller, Madhya Bharat. He is, I understand, not willing to vacate it. I wonder if suitable alternative accommodation can be found for him. With the reorganisation of State the office of the Comptroller, Madhya Bharat, may cease to exist but it is difficult to say anything definite at this stage. The Central P.W.D. have informed me that the appropriate cost of the building is Rs. 5,22,000. I would myself be glad if it could be made available for the girls' school which you intend to establish.<sup>2</sup> In any case, however, the matter has to stand over for the present.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No.1/12/56-Poll. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India

2. The Maharani of Gwalior proposed to establish a residential school for girls in the Residency Building.

## 16. Allowances to Dependants of Former Rulers<sup>1</sup>

I have seen the papers.<sup>2</sup> It appears that the Himachal Pradesh Government were at one stage quite willing to pay allowances to the widow, two sons and one unmarried daughter of the late Mian Kesri Singh, the amounts being Rs. 150 for the widow, Rs. 100 each for the two sons and Rs. 75 for the unmarried daughter. It appears that in some cases allowances have been paid even after the death

1. Note to Joint Secretary, V. Viswanathan. File No. 9/9/56-Poll. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

2. Commenting on the application of Kanwar Gulab Singh, son of Mian Kesri Singh, the former Ruler of Chamba, that he and his brother be paid maintenance allowances, Vishwanathan, in his note, had observed that the allowance granted to Mian Kesri Singh had been stopped on his death in October 1949, and that, according to the "settled policy in the matter", no new allowance could be granted.

of the person to whom the allowance had been granted at the time of the merger. The liability for the payment of these allowances will, I imagine, have to be borne by the Himachal Pradesh Government. In the circumstances even if nothing is paid to the two sons I think it would be fair to let them sanction Rs. 150 for the widow and Rs. 75 for the unmarried daughter as was originally proposed by them.

G.B.P.

1.4.56

## 17. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
April 11, 1956

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I got your letter of April 7 about Patiala House after you had left for the tour of Karnataka.<sup>2</sup> I do not consider it necessary to make any comments on Maharani's letter. The Home Ministry do not appear to have sent any formal reply to her. I had, however, occasion to meet her and the Maharaja in this connection more than once. They had also discussed the matter with the officers of the Home Ministry and the Maharaja last met me about a week ago. He seemed to be aware of the difficulties which we were feeling in the matter and in the course of the talk I had with him he expressed his intention of looking for some other purchaser. He did not then seem to me to be aggrieved.

My approach to the sale of the house by the Maharaja had throughout been helpful. When he first sought permission for selling the house to W.H.O., for Rs. 25 lakhs I took special interest in the matter and after consulting other Ministries accepted the proposal. W.H.O. are in possession of the house at present. After some time the Maharani said that W.H.O. had backed out, but the Jesuits were willing to purchase the house for the same amount. There was no objection to the Jesuits opening a college for priests or for any other purpose in

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 434, p. 197, N.M.M.L.

2. Nehru, in his letter of 7 April, had written that he had already informed the Maharani of Patiala that he had no objection to her selling the Patiala House to the Society of Jesus for opening a college in it for which the Delhi University had also given permission, and that he felt embarrassed to know that the Home Ministry had refused permission "apparently on the ground that they do not approve of the Jesuits having a college in Delhi." He had added: "If the Jesuits are to be kept out, then we can equally object to colleges run by other denominations."

Delhi, although perhaps according to a Cabinet decision, for the opening of a new institution by a foreign mission or society the permission of the Government is necessary.

The difficulty in this case is due to the particular locality known as the 'Princes Circle' in which this house is situated. It did not seem to be appropriate to permit denominational institutions to be set up in this important area. That might create an awkward precedent as similar bodies or other moneyed people might approach Princes with like offers. I was not aware of any orders on the subject by you. I had learnt that the Maharani had seen Pillai.<sup>3</sup> I had asked my officers to consult Pillai and had told them definitely that if any commitment had been made by Pillai or for that matter by even any junior officer, I would like to honour it regardless of any embarrassment. I understood that there was no commitment.

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

3. N R Pillai, Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs

## 18. The Jaipur Palace<sup>1</sup>

I am reluctant to interfere with any arrangements which a Prince may like to make about his property.<sup>2</sup> The official residence which has been exempted from income-tax under Finance Ministry's notification stands, however, on a different footing. The Maharaja may still have the right to let out the building but it would be somewhat unusual. It may also prejudice the chances of the request for exemption of such residences from estate duty being favourably considered. The Maharaja is getting a decent amount by way of privy purse. He has also, I believe, other means and resources. The palace has some historical significance and I would be glad if it were to be maintained in its present condition and used by the Maharaja himself instead of being leased for being used as a public hotel. The idea does not quite appeal to me. If J.S. wishes to write a letter I shall be willing to do so but the Maharaja was to go out for a holiday to Europe. Has he not yet left?

G.B. Pant

8.5.56

1. Note to Joint Secretary, V. Viswanathan. File No. 9/9/56-Poll. III, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
2. Viswanathan, in his note of 26 April, had written that he did not feel happy on the Maharaja of Jaipur proposing to lease out his official residence, the Ram Bagh Palace at Jaipur which was exempt from income tax, to Messrs. Oberoi Ltd. to convert it into a hotel



11

KASHMIR



## 1. India Committed to Decision of Kashmir Constituent Assembly<sup>1</sup>

India will pay due regard to the wishes of the people of Kashmir regarding the accession issue as expressed by them through their Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly came into being when the people of the State and the National Conference found that the Kashmir issue was not being solved despite the best efforts of India. Past experience showed that all efforts on the part of India to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the Kashmir issue had failed, because Pakistan used dilatory methods and put forward impossible conditions. This brought about a state of uncertainty and insecurity and hindered development activities and impoverished the people.

Elections to the Constituent Assembly were held in 1951 on the issue of accession to India. At that time Sheikh Abdullah<sup>2</sup> in his inaugural address to the Assembly had said that accession to India was the only course by which Kashmir could prosper. He had ruled out Kashmir's accession to Pakistan or the State remaining independent, and admitted that that course would not benefit the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The Constituent Assembly was elected in a democratic manner and its decisions cannot be disregarded.

As for Sheikh Abdullah, it is painful to part company with old colleagues.<sup>3</sup> But the National Conference cannot allow friendship to come in the way of its principles. I hope he will think over the entire matter and not persist in following a wrong path.

It is a matter of satisfaction that Kashmir is progressing in all walks of life. I find Kashmir pulsating with new life and I would advise the people to fully cooperate with the Government in the execution of development projects and other nation-building activities.

Mankind is still threatened with destruction on account of the atom bomb and other nuclear weapons. Fortunately for India, she produced a leader like Gandhiji whose mission in life was peace and uplift of the downtrodden. Jawaharlal Nehru has followed Gandhiji's principles and is doing his best to further the cause of peace in the world. The country is proud to have a leader

1. Address to National Conference workers, Srinagar, 5 July 1955. *Indian Express*, 7 July 1955.
2. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah; b. 1905; organized the National Conference in the Kashmir State in 1938 and was its president from 1939 to 1953 except in 1942 and 1944; president All India States' People's Conference 1946; Prime Minister of Kashmir 1948-53 when he was dismissed and arrested; again held the office of Chief Minister from 1975 till his death in 1982.
3. Sheikh Abdullah had been dismissed and arrested on 9 August 1953 for advocating full independence for Kashmir.

like Nehru. His efforts for maintaining world peace are receiving recognition everywhere and he is welcomed wherever he goes.

The Congress is committed to a socialistic pattern of society. It means that planned effort will be made for the uplift of the poor and the downtrodden. But the people of the State should also gird up their loins and help implement the second Five Year Plan of the State and thus work for raising the living standards of the masses. The people of the State deserve congratulations for having a big political organization like the National Conference whose membership is seven and a half lakhs.

## 2. A Bond of Friendship and Love<sup>1</sup>

Kashmir is the jewel of India and Srinagar a fountain of culture and, come what may, we cannot leave it. The relationship between India and Kashmir is based on mutual love. India wants to serve Kashmir and the relationship based on love and service is strong enough to stand any situation. India's bonds with Kashmir have not been forged for exploitation of any kind. The relationship is based on certain principles held dear by the people of India and Kashmir.

India wants to serve Kashmir as she is a part of the country. Those who attempted to force Kashmiris to certain course of action were losers ultimately, but India marched forward because her policy and programme were quite clear. Even in serving Kashmir we sought the consent of Kashmiris.

The people of Kashmir themselves decided the future of their country through their Constituent Assembly. The decision was taken by those who had fought for freedom of their state for decades together. The Government of India will give full help to the Kashmiris to develop the state and increase its prosperity.

I am glad to know that municipal elections in Srinagar will be held shortly, and I hope that Kashmir will serve as an example in democracy and progress. Tourists come to Kashmir in large numbers. Hence, all efforts should be made to develop the valley so that more visitors are attracted to it which would add to the material well-being of the people.

1. Reply to the civic address presented by the Srinagar Municipal Committee, 6 July 1955. *Hindustan Standard*, 8 July 1955.



### 3. Kashmir's Accession to India Final<sup>1</sup>

In reply to a question on the possibility of a plebiscite in Kashmir, the Union Home Minister Pandit Pant said: "We made certain statements when Kashmir acceded to India.<sup>2</sup> We do not deny this fact. But the circumstances when we made those statements were different from those obtaining now. The time factor is very important. Many things have happened since. The Pakistan Government has failed to agree to any reasonable conditions for plebiscite; nor do I see any possibility of its agreeing. It has entered into a military alliance with America.<sup>3</sup> The Constituent Assembly of Kashmir, which was elected on the basis of adult suffrage, has taken a definite decision. Resolutions passed by the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference on the eve of elections to the Constituent Assembly and the inaugural address delivered by Sheikh Abdullah made it abundantly clear that the Constituent Assembly had been constituted primarily for the purpose of determining and deciding this vital issue."

He added: "While I am not oblivious of the initial declaration made by the Government of India, I cannot ignore the important series of facts to which I have briefly referred. In these circumstances I personally feel that the tide cannot be turned now. However, this relates to that part of Jammu and Kashmir State which is with us. The other part has not made its choice so far. People there perhaps have not been given the opportunity to do so. Conditions there are not reported to be satisfactory. However, we are anxious to reach a settlement with Pakistan on all points. We would like the best neighbourly relations to exist between India and Pakistan."

Asked about the Nekowal incident,<sup>4</sup> Pandit Pant replied that the Government of India had sent their claim to Pakistan but so far no reply had been received.

Asked what impressions he carried about Kashmir, Pandit Pant replied: "Pleasant and wholesome, I am quite satisfied with the State's development schemes. I found conditions there better than I had expected."

1. Interview to the press, Srinagar, 9 July 1955. *The Hindustan Times*, 10 July 1955. This interview was given by Pant while leaving for Delhi after a ten-day stay in Kashmir.
2. Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union was accepted by the Government of India on 26 October 1947 with the proviso that it would be finalised in accordance with the will of the people after law and order had been restored.
3. The Defence Assistance Agreement between Pakistan and the United States was signed at Karachi on 19 May 1954.
4. On 7 May 1955, twelve Indian soldiers were killed when the Pakistani border police opened fire in the Nekowal village in Jammu. See also fn. 11 on p. 257.

#### 4. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 15, 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have just received your letters.<sup>2</sup> Dutt<sup>3</sup> has also sent me a copy of Ghazanfar Ali's letter of 14th.

I spoke twice at Srinagar. The papers published in their own way the substance of what I said but the full texts of the speeches were not published. My assistant, however, took down notes at the spot but I need not bother you with them as they are rather longish. Besides, every word that I uttered on the two occasions with regard to matters concerning Pakistan and plebiscite is fully covered by what I said later at the press conference. I enclose herewith the notes recorded by my stenographer at the time.<sup>4</sup> All that I said has not appeared in the papers, but on the whole my remarks about Kashmir have been correctly reported. The statements then made by me in answer to questions at the press conference form the gravamen of the charges and protests indignantly made by Pakistan papers and Government. I have gone through the record again and feel that if I had another opportunity I would unhesitatingly repeat what I then said on the spur of the moment in answer to questions put to me by various correspondents, although I still believe that I have nothing but goodwill for Pakistan.

The President spoke to me about the subject matter of his letter to you and has also sent me a copy.<sup>5</sup> I propose to write to the Chief Minister shortly.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 361, p. 179, N.M.M.L.
2. Nehru, in his letter of 14 July, had written: "You will have received from the External Affairs Ministry copy of a message which the Prime Minister of Pakistan has sent me. This relates to the various statements made by you in Kashmir. I shall have to send a reply to this but, of course, before doing so I should like to have your advice." For Nehru's reply of 21 July to the Pakistan Prime Minister Mahomed Ali see Appendix, item 1.
3. S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary
4. For Pant's address to the press conference at Srinagar on 9 July see the preceding item.
5. Welcoming the suggestion of Rajendra Prasad that he (Rajendra Prasad) should spend some time in South India, Nehru had written to Pant on 14 July that he thought Hyderabad would be a suitable place for this and asked him to get in touch with the Hyderabad Government for fixing up an official residence for the President.

## 5. To Mehr Chand Khanna<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25th July 1955

My dear Mehr Chand,<sup>2</sup>

I have to thank you for your letter of 19th July regarding financial assistance to the people for reconstructing their houses which had been destroyed by raiders in Kashmir.<sup>3</sup> I entirely agree with your views in the matter and trust that when the proposals of the State Government are received, you will give sympathetic consideration to them.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No. 7(29)-K/55, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.
2. Union Minister of Rehabilitation; see also fn 35 on p. 263.
3. In his letter of 19 July, Mehr Chand Khanna had written that he had paid a visit to Kashmir and seen the "havoc wrought by the raiders" in Pattan, Baramula and Khadanyar. He had added that he had asked the State Government to send him their "detailed proposals" for giving financial assistance to the people for reconstructing their houses.

## 6. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 6, 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Before receiving your letter about Mridula<sup>2</sup> I had sent the following reply to her telegram:

Your wire. Advising local authorities to condone irregular stay and assuring them you are leaving Kashmir without delay. Please do so.

I have received several reports from D.I.B. It appeared from one of them

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 405, p. 16, N.M.M.L.
2. Mridula Sarabhai; see also fn. 28 on p. 262.

SELECTED WORKS OF GOVIND BALLABH PANT

that she was trying to persuade the Kashmir P.S.P. people not to sever their connection with the Plebiscite Front.<sup>3</sup> Bakshi<sup>4</sup> has also written to me more than once about her misdirected energy in Kashmir.<sup>5</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

3. The Government of India was, however, against holding a plebiscite in Kashmir until Pakistan had withdrawn all her armed forces from there.
4. Ghulam Mahomed Bakshi, Prime Minister of Kashmir 1953-63; see also fn. 2 on p. 233.
5. Nehru had also written to Pant on 5 December: "I am afraid her visit to Kashmir has not been a very happy one from our point of view."

## THE PROBLEM OF GOA



## 1. Firing on Satyagrahis in Goa<sup>1</sup>

Sir,<sup>2</sup> it is a matter of deep distress bordering almost on agony for every one of us that so many of our countrymen should have been shot down and injured in Goa.<sup>3</sup> The occasion which gave rise to such brutality on the part of the Portuguese Army is well known to hon. Members of this House. This struggle of the Goanese for securing the freedom of their country and achieving emancipation from the foreign yoke of the Portuguese has been going on for a considerable period. They have made many a sacrifice for the liberation of Goa. The position after the independence of our own country had become still more trying for the Goanese. People all around them were free, while they were still in bondage. The occurrences of yesterday have appeared in the press. We have not received any authoritative report yet but so far as information got from official quarters is concerned, it is said that 15 persons have fallen victims to this inhuman brutality of the Portuguese Government and their agents. I have just been informed that the lady whose name appeared in the papers this morning is alive, but we have not yet got full details about these things. Naturally, everyone in India is greatly exercised over what has happened. It is not a question of politics, but it is a question of humane treatment in a civilized age—whether people who are utterly unarmed, who have no weapon of offence or defence should be shot down with firearms by the soldiers and members of the army is something which the present age cannot countenance or tolerate. It is, as I submitted, not connected with politics but with something more fundamental, that is, the rights and duties of man as such—whether an unarmed person entering into a territory with the co-operation, explicit or implicit, of the people of that territory with whom he has historical, geographical and cultural affinities should be treated in this barbarous way. This is an important question and I hope it will receive the attention of those who are in a position to maintain the standard of civilization in the world today. If the people, who have no nefarious designs and who move about with nothing but their own limbs and for a cause which cannot be said to be unworthy even by the worst of its critics, are treated in this manner, then how can the human approach, which is after all the basic approach towards all questions, be visible in the relations between nations and countries? I think that what has been done is worse than barbarous. We, on our part, are wedded to peaceful methods. So far as the Government of India is concerned and so far as the people of

1. Speech in Rajya Sabha, 16 and 17 August 1955. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. 10, cols. 51–3 and 185–7.
2. S. Radhakrishnan
3. According to newspaper reports, on 15 August, 31 persons were killed and 41 wounded in firing by the Portuguese police on Indians who entered Goa to demonstrate and extend support to Goan nationalists.

our country are concerned, they believe in the efficacy and potency and ultimate triumph of peaceful methods. These barbarities will ever be recorded in history against those who have indulged in them. We will continue to follow the path which has been laid down for us and we are sure that just as we won freedom for India, so Goa will be free before long.

Sir, I would offer my heartfelt sympathies and also that of every Member of this House to the members of the bereaved families. I also request you to convey to them that we are all impressed by the path which these people have followed non-violently and peacefully and secured martyrdom for themselves in order to liberate what is geographically and otherwise a part of India. I will request you, Sir, to convey these feelings to all those concerned.

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Sir, with your permission, I beg to place before the House further information received by Government about the satyagraha that was organized on the 15th. The total number of persons entering Goa proper comes to 1711 and Daman 1249. They went in batches. So far as Goa is concerned, there were several batches and they took different routes. The total number, as I just mentioned, that entered Goa comes to 2960 and the total number of people who came back, including, I think, the bodies of those who died, comes to 2935; 25 are still missing. The total number of dead about which there is exact information comes to fifteen and there is strong suspicion that 7 more at least have died but about them no definite intimation has yet been received. I have got full particulars but I think I need not worry the House with further details.

Within Goa proper, too, there were demonstrations throughout the whole of the 15th. Satyagraha was offered at various places at regular intervals and before a crowd of 3,000 persons in Margao 30 persons were arrested for offering satyagraha. At some of the places where satyagraha was offered, a few prominent citizens were arrested, but the satyagrahis are reported to have been released. On the 14th August, twenty prominent citizens were arrested and most of them have been released. Twenty Goans were also arrested in Margao also for political activities. Indian flags were prominently displayed and they were removed later by the Portuguese police. "Jai Hind" and "Viva Goa" posters were visible at various places but these too were interfered with by the Portuguese police.

It has been reported, presumably on information given by the Portuguese authorities, that Indian Army is massed on the borders of Goa. That report is utterly false and unfounded and has been, I am afraid, deliberately circulated simply to mislead world opinion.

I have given the salient facts about the Goa situation. It is a matter of



regret that certain very unseemly scenes have been witnessed in some of the main cities in our own country .....

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All of us are pledged to non-violence and our methods, even with regard to Goa to which we have a legitimate claim, should be absolutely peaceful and non-violent. I am really sorry to see that within our own country we are having recourse to violence, to destruction of public property and to other methods which are undoubtedly deplorable. I do not see how we can achieve the goal which we all cherish by having recourse to such methods. I can only hope that the appeal of the Prime Minister that on occasions like these we should behave as a mature nation with restraint and dignity, will be responded to at least now.<sup>5</sup> What happened yesterday is a matter of regret. I won't express myself strongly. In some places some little damage, howsoever insignificant it may be, was caused to foreign Consulates. We are extremely sorry for that and we are prepared to pay adequate compensation for any loss that may have been incurred.

I again express the earnest hope that hereafter people will behave in a becoming manner and, while sympathizing with those who have suffered for the liberation of Goa, see that peace and order in our own country are not disturbed in any form or manner.

4. In Delhi and Bombay demonstrations leading to violence took place on 16 August in protest against the police firing on Indian satyagrahis in Goa, and on 18 August a *hartal* was observed in Calcutta.
5. Referring to the incidents in Goa, Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking from the ramparts of the Red Fort on 15 August, made an appeal to the nation to "conduct itself with dignity and discipline". He also declared that Goa was a part of India and that no power on earth could separate it from her.

Goa was ultimately integrated with India in December 1961.





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## 1. Area of Peace Extended<sup>1</sup>

The joint declaration of Nehru and Marshal Bulganin emphasizes that the progress of the world can be enhanced and ensured only through an unqualified acceptance of the basic fundamentals of coexistence, non-interference and maximum co-operation among States and is thus of great historical significance.<sup>2</sup> It has extended the area of peace and is certain to produce a wholesome effect in further relaxing the existing tensions. It has very much improved the climate of peace.

The *Panch Shila* principles have again been reaffirmed. East and West have been brought nearer. The doctrine of non-interference has been enlarged and elucidated in unequivocal terms. The Prime Minister of Russia made a far-reaching declaration that no State should interfere with the internal affairs of another State, whether on political, economic or, what is still more significant, ideological grounds. In a way, the inevitability of variety in political and social systems has been recognized, and also the absolute right of every country to mould its social order according to its own genius, environment and traditions. This principle altogether rules out the idea of applying a common or cast-iron pattern to all countries.

The appeal for banning nuclear and atomic weapons and reducing armaments to the maximum extent possible has been made with all earnestness.

1. Interview to the press, New Delhi, 24 June 1955. *The Hindustan Times*, 25 June 1955.
2. The communique issued by Jawaharlal Nehru and the Russian Prime Minister N.A. Bulganin at Moscow on 23 June 1955 committed the Soviet Government to the Five Principles of coexistence, the Bandung declaration and complete nuclear disarmament. The commitment to non-interference in each other's internal matters was amplified to cover all aspects, whether economic, political or ideological.

N.A. Bulganin; b. 1895; chairman of Moscow Soviet 1931-37; given rank of marshal in 1947; Deputy Chairman of Council of Ministers 1949-55; Prime Minister of the Soviet Union 1955-58; expelled from the Communist Party in 1958; d. 1975.

## 2. Military Pacts—a Setback to the Cause of Peace<sup>1</sup>

Moving the official resolution on international affairs, Pandit Pant referred to military alliances in general and the S.E.A.T.O.<sup>2</sup> and Baghdad Pact<sup>3</sup> in particular and declared that these pacts had caused a setback to the progress of international understanding.

Instead of preventing another war as their sponsors professed, he said, these pacts had, in fact, endangered the cause of peace and imperilled the progress of humanity.

He described the S.E.A.T.O. and Baghdad Pact as designs to deceive the world and mislead international opinion. The S.E.A.T.O. was supposed to ensure security and peace in South-East Asia, and yet most of the leading countries of the region like India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia were not participating in it, he said. The only notable exception was perhaps Pakistan. She was also a member of the Baghdad Pact from which leading Arab countries like Egypt had kept out.

These alliances, which were essentially inspired by countries outside Asia, tended to divide neighbours and increase mutual suspicion, fear and mistrust, Pandit Pant said.

He referred to the discussion of the Kashmir question at the recent S.E.A.T.O. and Baghdad Pact Council meetings and said this had been done deliberately.<sup>4</sup> The Kashmir issue concerned India alone and was outside the purview of these Councils.

1. Speech while moving the resolution on International affairs at the A.I.C.C. session at Bombay on 2 June 1956. *The Hindustan Times*, 3 June 1956.

The resolution moved by G.B. Pant expressed the hope that all disputes in East Asia would be settled peacefully and without outside interference. It criticised the South East Asia Treaty Organization (S.E.A.T.O.), and commended the affirmation of faith in *Panchsheel* by several countries and hoped that People's Republic of China (Communist China) would soon take her place in the United Nations. It also called for total prohibition of the manufacture, use and experimentation of weapons of mass destruction.

2. The South East Asia Treaty Organization (S.E.A.T.O.) was a regional defence organization created by the South East Asia Collective Defence Treaty signed at Manila on 8 September 1954 by the representatives of Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Phillipines, Thailand, the U.K. and the U.S. The formation of the Organization was in response to a demand by the member countries to protect the region against communist expansionism.
3. The Baghdad Pact was a mutual security agreement signed in November 1955 by Great Britain, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan. The United States did not join it but participated in its various committees. With the withdrawal of Iraq from the Pact in 1959 the Organisation came to be known as the Central Treaty Organization (C.E.N.T.O.).
4. At the S.E.A.T.O. Council meeting held at Karachi on 6 March 1956, Pakistan had canvassed support for early plebiscite in Kashmir and the members of the Council had affirmed their belief in an early settlement of the Kashmir question through the United Nations or by direct negotiations.

Kashmir, he said, was an integral part of India and would ever remain so, and "we will never deviate from the stand we have taken on the question."

It was often contended that India held Kashmir against the wishes of her people. But it was very well known that Kashmir's integration with India was endorsed by the representative body of the State's people, Constituent Assembly. Hence any reference to this question in the S.E.A.T.O. or Baghdad Council meetings was against all international practices and international law, he said.

In a reference to the Algerian question, Pandit Pant said India was interested in having the question settled by peaceful negotiations.<sup>5</sup> He hoped the two parties would end the present bloodshed and sit together in an atmosphere of understanding and friendship.

France had set an example, he added, by settling the question of restoring freedom to Morocco and Tunisia, as also by effecting the transfer of her possessions in India.<sup>6</sup> It was now hoped she would similarly decide the question of granting independence to Algeria, so that, in course of time, the spirit would be caught up by other colonial Governments and every country under their domination would achieve independence.

In a general view of the world situation, Pandit Pant said aside from the deleterious effects of the S.E.A.T.O. and Baghdad Pact during the last 18 months there had been some improvement in international relations. The war clouds that were looming large appeared to be clearing and a new atmosphere was being created.

Nations, which were divided into Power blocs and which refused to sit together and settle their disputes but talked from positions of strength, had now started getting together, and it was hoped they would get closer in future and learn to solve their problems in a peaceful manner, he added.

The recent exchange of visits between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the outside world, the recent summit talks at Geneva,<sup>7</sup> Russia's decision to cut down her armed forces and other events were evidence of the changing atmosphere. These were also signs of the keen desire in the world to establish lasting peace.

There had also been evidence, Pandit Pant said, of a general support among nations of the world for the principles of *Panchsheel*.<sup>8</sup> These principles ap-

5. The Algerian war of independence, which started in 1954, ended in 1962 with France granting independence to Algeria.
6. On 1 November 1954, the French Government transferred the administration of Pondicherry and three other settlements to India.
7. The Heads of the Governments of the U.S., the U.K., France and the Soviet Union met at Geneva from 18 to 23 July 1955 to discuss European security, German unification, disarmament and contacts between the East and the West.
8. The five principles, termed as *Panchsheel*, were: (1) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) non-aggression, (3) non-interference in each other's inter-

peared to have been accepted in spirit even by the Big Powers though they had not openly pledged their support to them. This was because they had come to realize that any future war involving nuclear weapons would end in victory for neither side but in mutual destruction and ultimate total annihilation of the human race.<sup>9</sup>

nal affairs, (4) equality and mutual benefits, and (5) peaceful coexistence. It was included for the first time in the agreement on Tibet signed by India and China on 29 April 1954.

9. After this, Krishna Memon and Hifzur Rahmaan spoke on the resolution after which it was passed unanimously.



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THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS



## 1. Need for Congressmen to Work on Economic Plane<sup>1</sup>

Pandit Pant said that the tendency of our people was to look to the Government for everything. The organization had to be made effective if it had to function well and handle public problems. It was a bad approach if people looked to official sanction for all kinds of things.

He felt that considerable difficulties would be experienced in working out the second Five Year Plan so far as small-scale, village and cottage industries were concerned. In his opinion, the remedy could be found for achieving this goal if small industrial cooperatives could be established by the efforts of Congressmen. Unless the Congress could benefit people in some way or other it would lose all attraction and the organization will gradually go down. He felt that if real spirit of cooperation could be imbibed by Congressmen it would be very helpful and could give real strength to the organization. It was absolutely necessary that Congressmen should work in the public on the economic plane also.

1. Speech at a meeting of Zonal Organizers for constructive work convened by the Congress at New Delhi on 13 April 1955. J.N. Papers, File No. 350, pp. 71-2, N.M.M.L.

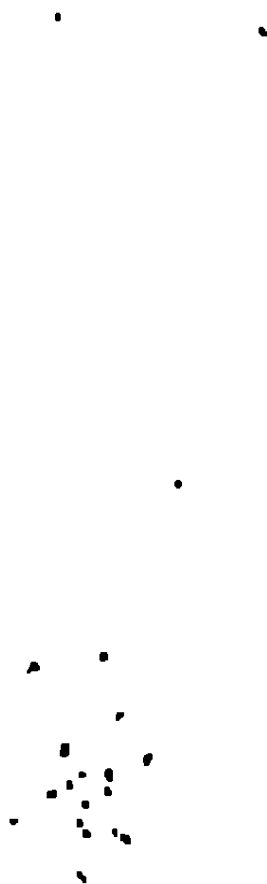
The Congress Working Committee had decided to organize constructive work through Congressmen, for which organisers had been appointed for different areas. The meeting was attended, among others, by Jawaharlal Nehru, U.N. Dhebar, Gulzarilal Nanda and Shriman Narayan.

## 2. The Youth and the Congress<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the proposal that an office-bearer of the Youth Congress should also be an active member of the Congress, Shri Pant suggested that in his opinion an office-bearer of the Youth Congress need not necessarily be a primary member of the Congress. According to him the youths who accepted the Congress ideology without enlisting themselves as Congress members could be more effective in working amongst youths and students and carry the message of the Congress to them. Moreover, a special difficulty would be created by retaining this clause in the Constitution, since young persons, beginning from the age of 14, were entitled to be members of the Youth Congress, while

1. Extracts from the minutes of the A.I.C.C. Advisory Committee meeting held at New Delhi on 10 November 1955. A.I.C.C. Papers (II instalment), File No. CRD-28, N.M.M.L.

The meeting was attended, among others, by the Congress President U.N. Dhebar, the General Secretary Shriman Narayan, Jagjiwan Ram, B.V. Keskar and K.L. Shrimali.



## 1. Tribute to Acharya Narendra Deva<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, hon. Members must have read with deep sorrow the sad news of the premature death of Acharya Narendra Deva,<sup>2</sup> which appeared in the papers this morning. He passed away at Erode, near Madras, yesterday at about 4 p.m. He had a frail body and was a chronic sufferer from asthma. He devoted himself to the service of the country and to the various causes which were dear to his heart without any regard for his life. He knew no rest and never spared himself. According to the reports that had been received just a few days ago, he was said to be improving. So we were all the more shocked when we got the sad news quite unexpectedly and suddenly.

Acharya Narendra Deva was one of the foremost leaders of our country. He was an accomplished representative of the generation which is passing away. He was an erudite educationist, a man of great culture and one who had many interests, but whose supreme passion was for the service of the country and the uplift of the masses living in this land. He gave of his best during the whole of his life to the country. He worked indefatigably in spite of his physical handicaps for more than 50 years. I had the privilege of studying with him in the same college and we used to live in a common hostel more than 50 years ago. Since then, we had been associated with each other in many activities. He was a warm-hearted man, a great gentleman, almost a saint, who worked for others with unique selflessness and never hurt anybody. He was a great speaker. He was a very good advocate, but he gave up the Bar and joined the Kashi Vidyapith in 1920 at the call of Mahatma Gandhi, and since then steadfastly and zealously pursued the goal which he had set before himself in his early youth, of securing the emancipation and freedom of the country. Kashi Vidyapith occupies an honoured place in our educational sphere. Many of the young men trained by him are holding positions of responsibility in the country. Several of them are today discharging the duties of Ministers and quite a goodly number are Members of Parliament and State Legislatures. He did what history will ever keep for the inspiration and guidance of those who want to lead a noble life, to befriend every good cause and to devote themselves selflessly to the service and uplift of others and to the ennoblement and refinement of life.

1. Speech in Lok Sabha, 20 February 1956. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 1, cols. 287-8.

2. B. 1889; scholar, educationist and freedom fighter; went to jail several times; founder-member of Congress Socialist Party (1934); member Congress Working Committee 1936-38; elected to U.P. Legislative Assembly in 1937 and 1946; Vice-Chancellor Lucknow University 1947-51, and Benares Hindu University 1951-53; founder-member of Praja Socialist Party (1952); member Rajya Sabha 1952-54; d. 1956; author of several books including *Buddha Dharma Darshan* (*Philosophy of Buddhism*).

We have lost a great man and we can do no more than to offer our respectful condolences to the members of his bereaved family and to pray that the heritage that he has left for us may be well preserved and we may benefit by the inspiration which his example will always hold out to us and others who will come after us.

I shall feel grateful if you will convey to the members of the bereaved family the sincere and heartfelt condolences of the Lok Sabha.

## 2. Tribute to G.V. Mavalankar<sup>1</sup>

Hon. Members must have heard with profound sorrow the very sad news of the death of Shri Mavalankar.<sup>2</sup> He had been suffering from heart disease for a long time. Some days ago he had a fresh attack. Reports, however, published this morning were reassuring. He appeared to have got over the crisis and we thought that he had turned the corner and was now firmly placed on the road to recovery. So we were all the more shocked and stunned when we were informed about his demise as we had been looking forward now to his early recovery.

It is difficult, when we are all of us almost overwhelmed with grief, to say much about Mavalankarji. He was a truly great man, a pure soul, a leader of men, one who laboured selflessly and steadily at the cost of his health for the relief and succour of the needy, the suffering and the downtrodden people. He never spared himself. He was a true disciple of Gandhiji. In him one of the best and noblest of men has passed away and the country has been put to irreparable enormous loss. He was a man of profound culture and he served those in need and befriended those towards whom nobody would ordinarily give his attention. He was a pure gem and reflected and radiated light, kindness, cleanliness and purity wherever he went. He filled every place with distinction. As a Speaker, he was perfect. For a man like that, it is difficult to find suitable words to give expression to one's own regard and admiration for his numberless qualities of head and heart. For some of us, it is also a real personal loss. We respected him, we loved him, we looked to him for guidance whenever we were faced with a difficulty. His example will live in the annals of our history and it will ever inspire the people who could look up to a great man's example with utmost confidence for their own guidance and for learn-

1. Speech in Lok Sabha, 27 February 1956. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 12, cols. 823-4.

2. B. 1888; Congressman of Ahmedabad; Speaker Bombay Legislative Assembly 1937-46; President Central Legislative Assembly 1946-47; Speaker Indian Legislative Assembly 1947-52, and Lok Sabha 1952-56; d. 1956.

ing the true tenets and doctrines of selfless service in action. I would request you, Sir, to convey to his sons and other members of his family the heart-felt condolences and sympathy of this House and also to adjourn the House as a mark of respect for the departed.





1. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 12, 1955

My dear Raja,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letters. They are so interesting, informative and lovely. I am glad that you have made it a rule to write to me almost fully, at least twice a week. That was my suggestion when you left. You have meticulously complied with it. I on my part have been guilty of remissness. My time here is continuously crowded with the result that I am denied the opportunity of even communicating my thoughts to you as often as I wish. I am really sorry for having given you a cause for concern by my failure to write to you for about 10 or 12 days. I wonder what happened to my first letter. I would not be surprised if it has, since your writing to me last, been delivered to you. I am relieved to learn that you have good company and that your circle of friends is continuously growing and expanding. That is but natural. Your innate goodness is a great asset and none who comes in contact with you remains unimpressed by your intelligent talk and guileless ways. The Russian Ambassador whom I met recently at a party was inquiring about you. He was speaking very highly about your various qualities. He had read your review and thought that you had made very good use of your time and painted a correct picture.<sup>3</sup> As compared with the gushing praise showered on Russia by other visitors your account looked very sober and hardly very flattering to the Russians. Still he had nothing but praise for it and for you. Others also have often spoken to me about you. Many did not know that you had already left for Germany. There is considerable activity here and it is very likely that in the course of the next five years many heavy industries may be established in our country. The Plan that is under preparation attaches due importance to this subject. The hands of the Production Ministry are almost full even now but many more plants for the production of electricity, steel, fertilizers, chemicals, dyes etc. may be installed. We have almost reached the targets fixed for the first Five Year Plan and there

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant. This and the following letters printed in this sub-section were sent to Germany where the addressee had gone for higher studies.
2. B. 1931; son of G.B. Pant; received education at Naini Tal, Lucknow and in Germany; member Lok Sabha 1962-77 and 1984-89, and Rajya Sabha 1978-84; Union Minister of State from 1967 and held various portfolios such as Science, Industrial Research, Technology, Irrigation and Power, and Energy; Union Minister for Education 1984-85, for Steel and Mines 1985-87, and for Defence 1987-89; chairman Tenth Finance Commission; Deputy Chairman Planning Commission since February 1999.
3. K.C. Pant visited Russia in October 1954 for about a month as a member of the delegation of university students on invitation by the Russian Government.

is a general feeling of satisfaction. The faith of the people seems to have been restored and they are looking forward with hope and confidence to continued progress.

You may have received a cablegram I sent you on the *Holi* day. I had been constantly thinking about you almost throughout the time we were having this frolic. It started at about 9 and continued till about 1 here. All the time I was missing you. Then in the afternoon I went to Bareilly and after my return attended a reception arranged for me by the U.P. Samaj. All classes were represented there and it was a fully representative gathering. Hillmen had also arranged a similar function a day or two previously.<sup>4</sup> The Members of Parliament also honoured me in the same manner. My burdens are ceaselessly increasing. I have, however, managed to cope with them so far. On the whole my health is as good as it was at Lucknow. I am standing the strain better than I had imagined.

You were giving thought to your future programme. It may have been fixed up by this time. In any case your stay there, I earnestly trust, will not go beyond two years. I would like you to come here at least once before the end of the first year. We are all feeling your absence so keenly. So whatever plan is finally arranged you will, I hope, be able to pay us a visit for, say, five or six weeks....

Give my greetings to all your colleagues. I may be knowing the parents or guardians of some of your Indian comrades. Trust you are making good progress in German.

With love,

Yours,  
Babu

4. Receptions were given to Pant to felicitate him on his becoming the Union Home Minister.

## 2. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
The 6th April, 1955

My dear Raja,

I got your letter last week-end. It was delightful as usual. The Parliament is still in session and it will continue as such for another full month. I may have to give still more time to it during the remainder of this month than so far has been necessary for me....

The Plan for the next 5 years is receiving constant attention and if every-

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

thing goes well the progress during the next Plan period must be much more striking than it has been during the present one. We are now almost self-sufficient in the matter of food. So greater attention will be given to industries. The importance of big and heavy industries for general development is recognized by all and these will presumably receive foremost place in the new scheme. It is generally recognized that money will not come in the way very seriously but progress may be held up for want of necessary technical skill and suitable personnel. All our boys who are at present preparing for such undertakings will, I trust, find ample scope for their talents and skill. We have to attack all fronts in order to ensure solid all-round advance. The target for steel alone has been fixed at about 6 million tons, present availability being less than a quarter of this figure.

Has your programme been now finally fixed up? Are you able to talk in German? We have procured some ivory toys which would be quite suitable for presents and will be sending them to you soon. Take good care of your health and do not over-exert yourself. Pushi<sup>2</sup> and her mother<sup>3</sup> are both doing well and so are the rest.

Yours,  
Babu

2. Pushpa, younger daughter of G.B. Pant.
3. Kalawati, wife of G.B. Pant.

### 3. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
22nd May 1955

My dear Raja,

I was glad to receive your telegram. It was delivered here on Monday. It is now just a week since you left. I am expecting a letter from you tomorrow. Sunni was with us till Wednesday evening and she went back to Nainital with Chandra Prakash. So Janki<sup>2</sup> is here with me. As he lives in the Annexe next to the tennis ground I am in a way the sole occupant of this big house. I am naturally often reminded about you. You happened to be here rather unexpectedly but though I cannot explain the reason, I am missing you more this time than on the previous two occasions. I am awaiting information about your programmes. Hope you

1. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.
2. Janki Prasad Pant; personal secretary to G.B. Pant for a number of years.

have been able to find comfortable accommodation and are now well lodged. About your food you have to reconcile yourself to whatever you can manage to get, which cannot be wholly satisfactory. Do try to secure at least two pounds of good milk for your daily use.

The talks with the Prime Minister of Pakistan continued till the 18th.<sup>3</sup> No final decision was reached with regard to Kashmir but certainly subsidiary matters were settled and on the whole the conversation was pleasant and the spirit in which it was conducted friendly and cordial. The problem of Kashmir is intricate and ticklish and even if a settlement is arrived at it can be only after the whole question has been thrashed out in all its bearings more than once.

I have contacted Pusi, I think three times since your departure. They all seem to be quite jolly and cheerful. Bhawwa<sup>4</sup> had some trouble once or twice but he is all right. Only they all complain about the mischief he is doing almost constantly throughout the day. With age he will become sober.

Weather here is not quite as pleasant as when you left. It is getting warmer every day and may be pretty hot in another week or two. My plans are not finalised. Maulana is leaving tomorrow for U.K. and he will be away for about two months. Jawaharlalji will be starting on the 4th for Bombay and from there he will fly next morning. He may be out on tour, mostly of Europe, for about five weeks. I should like to spend a few days in Naini and have not given up the idea of going to Kashmir yet. I am quite hale. You need not be in the least worried about me. I am taking good care of myself.

Yours affectionately,  
Babu

3. The Pakistan Prime Minister Mahomed Ali and the Minister of Interior Iskander Mirza, who visited India from 14 to 18 May 1955, had talks with Nehru, Pant and other Indian leaders on a number of issues, chiefly on Kashmir.

4. Lakshmi's son and G.R. Pant's grandson.

#### 4. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

Camp Bhopal  
June 1, 1955

My dear Raja,

I have received your letters. You might have learnt about the cablegram that was sent by Knierim at Janki's instance. I do not know if any telegraphic reply has been received by him. I had little interest left in the matter after I got your first letter dated 23rd May. I was really uneasy and a great load was lifted when I saw the envelope in your handwriting. I am happy to learn that you are comfortably lodged and well settled. I hope to write to you fully later. I want only to indicate my first reaction to the suggestion that you have conveyed to me in your last letter. I am not aware of the subject that you would take and the advantage that would accrue to you by earning the Doctorate. The study of the language would in any case be the condition precedent, and without acquiring sufficient fluency you would not perhaps be satisfied with your position and capacity to study the subject and to appear in the examination in it. Mere Doctorate has little value. Knowledge can be acquired without any such formal distinction. I cannot easily reconcile myself to the idea of your staying abroad at least for two years, and probably longer. Even if your stay there for the minimum term of two years were inevitable I would expect you to come home at least once in between if not oftener. But your time there has to be profitably and fruitfully spent. The Doctorate is, according to your letter, to take not less than two years and it is quite likely that another six or nine months may have to be added to this period. I must confess I have no patience for that. A Doctorate can be useful for working in a laboratory by getting attached to some educational or scientific institution. I do not quite relish the idea of your being tied down like this and the whole of your mind, eyes and ears being subjected to continuous strain which the pursuit of this course unavoidably involves. If while gaining experience of work in a well-established workshop and factory in all stages in a general way combined with specialisation in a special line were to take some time, that would be in accordance with our original plan. If along with it a degree could also be obtained from a university that too would be welcome, but to concentrate on the latter alone to the exclusion of the primary purpose which you had in view would be at variance with our intentions and I think not likely to yield adequate results. So your mind need not be divided, nor should you undergo the suspense that uncertainty in these vital matters is bound to cause. Better settle down to the course initially contemplated and partially chalked out. If you, however,

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

This letter was sent at the address: Karlsruhe, Karl Wilhelm Str. 4, Germany.

think otherwise you can let me know. I have not consulted anyone and I am writing to you what has occurred to me almost instantaneously without any very serious and minute consideration.

I had dictated part of this letter to you yesterday, but it could not be completed as I was suddenly called away to some urgent work which could not brook delay. I came here yesterday and have been engaged in a series of functions. I go back tomorrow morning to Delhi. I hope it will be possible for me to move to Naini even though it be only for a week or ten days on the 7th. That is my present wish and expectation. I am sending you a photo taken here at Bhopal today in which you will see two tiger cubs which were presented to me here. I do not know how to look after them. So after reaching Delhi I shall hand them over to someone else who may be able to make a better and satisfactory use of them....

With love,

Yours affectionately,  
Babu

## 5. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
June 6, 1955

My dear Raja,

I have just received your letter of June 2. I hope you have in the meantime received mine. I am gratified to learn that you are now well settled and comfortably lodged. The room that you have engaged and also its surroundings seem to be quite decent and to your liking. It is not clear from your letter if any other guest also occupies the other room in the flat. How many Indian students are there living in the neighbourhood? I hope you have also opportunities of taking part in some games, even if there are no facilities for others. Perhaps billiards would be easily available. I wonder if badminton is popular in Germany. Other strenuous games such as cricket, hockey, or football would require extensive fields and might not even suit you. You may not much stand in need of any such exercises after your day's hard work. Still it is helpful to participate in games and sports for the development of body and also for entertainment.

2. I am not sure but perhaps I have already written to you about the two panther cubs that were presented to me during my recent visit in Bhopal. They

1. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

are still with me and look quite handsome and even lovely. But as they grow, they will lose their present attractiveness. I have retained them just to let Bhawwa have a look at them. I want to see his reaction. He does not ordinarily like to make friends with cats and I will not be surprised if he runs away from the cubs. After having shown them, I propose to pass them on to the Lucknow zoo.

3. You may have received the letter in which I had expressed my views about your proposal concerning a university doctorate. I am confirmed in my opinion, as you have independently arrived at a similar conclusion, that it is better to concentrate on the main task. The more energy is frittered away, the greater the difficulty in devoting entire time and attention to the principal objective. In view of what you have said nothing more remains to be considered in this connection

4. I am going to Naini Tal tomorrow, but I am afraid that I shall not be able to stay there for more than 10 days. As you know, Jawaharlalji has gone on a tour of Europe and will be away for about five weeks. I have, in addition to my own normal duties, to look after matters which were handled by him. He did a lot which did not come strictly within the range of his official position. That will presumably not come before me but still taking into account the normal functions, I may have to find some time for them. Everybody at home seems to be all right.

With love to you,

Yours affectionately,  
Babu

## 6. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

Srinagar  
2nd July 1955

My dear Raja,

x

x

x

x

I have often thought of you since I arrived here. It is really a wonderful place and it is hardly possible to fully appraise its singular beauty, grandeur and sublime eminence until one has seen it with one's own eyes. I am occupying

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

here a house known as 'Chashmashahi Palace'. It is named after a spring from which sparkling water comes out ceaselessly without causing much noise. This fountain is hardly five minutes walk from our present residence. The water is reputed to have some very wholesome qualities. I am told that people take immense pains sometimes in obtaining regular supplies from distant places. I am sitting here in a balcony or a verandah open on all sides which gives the view of a vast lake extending over several miles surrounded on all sides by stately poplars and other green lovely trees. There are three or four small islands in this lake which have been specially befitted and provided with amenities for the visiting tourists; one of these called Nehru Park which we visited last evening has also a neat restaurant. Naini Tal resembles a cup with the lake at the bottom and high mountains surrounding it on all sides. Here the lake is the common factor but for the rest the entire terrain and structure present a different look. The famous valley of Kashmir, as you know, extends over miles; a few mountains are visible here and there though in one corner at some distance a snow-covered range can be seen through a pass during the whole of the day. Many books and poems have been written in praise of Kashmir, in particular of the valley roundabout Srinagar. I am not sure if even the most gifted writers have succeeded in giving faithful description whether in prose or in poetry of the glorious spectacles that enchant one on crossing the Banihal pass. As the pass was wrapped up in clouds we had to fly at a height of about 18,000 feet for a little while. This is a difficult pass to navigate and a number of disasters and accidents have occurred here, but our pilots are now quite experienced and fully familiar with every inch of the ground they have to cover; so there is no risk for anyone. The plane by which we travelled was particularly immune as it was well equipped for such journeys. We have seen some of the gardens and orchards in the neighbourhood and some other places of interest will also be visited by us during the course of the next 4 or 5 days, but I am not quite free as I had to attend to other matters of local and general interest. The problem of Kashmir has not yet been solved on the political plane and although there has been considerable improvement on the political and material side, interested parties continue to harp on a dismal note and those who are and have been throughout hostile to the country do not allow themselves to be deterred by any scruples from painting black pictures and indulging in gross misrepresentation. This malicious propaganda goes on ceaselessly but it is a matter of gratification to us that, while there is considerable dissatisfaction bordering, as I am told, on revolt in what is known as Azad Kashmir, there is marked improvement in the happy Valley of Kashmir, Jammu and rest of the State which we have the opportunity of serving. This indisputable fact is accepted by all tourists, correspondents and critics who have seen the realities with their own eyes....

I was glad to read the description of the Foundation Day celebrations of the Old Boys Association. There are some such Associations in the universities and



schools here too but they have little vitality. Even their annual gatherings are but meagrely attended. They can, if properly maintained, serve a very useful purpose.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

## 7. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 31, 1955

My dear Raja,

I have again been unduly delayed in replying to your letter of 18th. I feel rather guilty I wish I could write to you oftener, as being far away from home and in a different country, even though you seem to have earned the goodwill and won the friendship of a fairly large number of people, you must be possessed by a sense of loneliness at least occasionally. Letters from home must be welcome as providing a pleasant antidote to an inevitable feeling of isolation from one's own people. But owing to continuous calls on my time, and in spite of my earnest desire to be constantly in touch with you, there are frequent and prolonged interruptions. I have been repeatedly asking Lachhi<sup>2</sup> and Pushi to make up for my lapses, but they too are not as prompt as they should have been. I repeat what I have written to you before. Even if you do not hear from me, you need not on that account stay your hands. I expect from you two letters every week.

10th August when you propose to observe your birthday is fast approaching. You were well advised in sticking to the date given in your passport. Any inconsistency unnecessarily creates suspicion. In fact there is none. According to the solar year which, as you know, is unvarying, the date is tenth, but the lunar year varies and consequently calculations on that basis are also lacking in constancy. We shall be imagining for the moment that you are in our midst. I hope you will have a good party. As I have already written to you do not stint yourself. If you want any more money, you have just to let me know.

You seem to have acquired a fair knowledge of German. I gather that you can understand others with ease and also express yourself, though not perhaps

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

2. Lakshmi, elder daughter of G.B. Pant.

very elegantly, so as to give expression to your views. Germany has always been a centre of scholarship and fine arts. It has occupied a high place in Western civilization. The people have an innate vitality which, in spite of the sufferings and hardships of an unparalleled nature undergone by them on several occasions, sustains their spirit. I am told that the ravages of the war have been wiped out and the process of reconstruction has almost resulted in the setting up of a new Germany. They are in a position to compete with others in all heavy and light industries. The offer received by them through our advertisements and proposals has been no doubt on that score.<sup>3</sup>

I have read with interest about your having learnt something of dancing too. Perhaps it is an essential accomplishment there. I myself know little about it and had in fact, even in my younger days, some aversion for it. But times have changed now. You are in an entirely different environment, but I am convinced that you would not do anything that is not right. Generally in these matters we, the older people, represent a bygone age and betray our inability to march with the times. I must confess my pitiable ignorance. I know little about film stars or even international athletes and Olympic prize winners. We are virtually lost in our humdrum official business....

Yours affectionately,  
Babu

3. The reference was probably to the Rourkela steel plant which started functioning in 1959.

## 8. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15th September, 1955

My dear Raja,

I have your letter of the 4th instant. According to your programme chalked out therein, you will have visited Rome and presumably returned to Frankfurt by this time. I do not exactly know how many days you were able to spend there. Let me hope that the historical and archaeological remnants of the olden days seen by you there have presented you with a realistic picture of the remote civilisation and culture of Rome. Modern Europe owes a lot to Rome and Athens. Greece has almost gone into the shade and has been eclipsed by the

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

glamour of modern age, but at least in the matter of sculpture and art Rome still continues to hold a respectable place. Was the Conference interesting and instructive? You could not, in any case, afford to spend a fortnight there. Wahi has become familiar with several of the Western countries. He has been spending sometime there every year. He has, as you know, a European wife. He is an enterprising and successful man of business and culture.

As you are presumably aware my birthday was observed here on the 10th. I had the opportunity of meeting and hearing from many kind friends and well-wishers. Delhi is a bigger place than Lucknow; so naturally the functions were more varied and interesting....

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

## 9. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
9th October, 1955

My dear Raja,

I have just received the letter you wrote on the Gandhi Jayanti Day. As you have observed, the birthday of Gandhiji was celebrated all over the country. I was busy almost throughout the day as I had to attend a series of functions from morning to a late hour in the night. I wonder if in recent times the world has produced a man of such spiritual eminence overflowing with love for the entire human race and possessed by a powerful passion to serve the fettered, the suppressed and the poor. Even if we had not his precepts and writings before us, his life by itself was a great living sermon. I cannot imagine that the world will have the good luck to see one like him again. The principles propagated by him are immortal and imperishable and even those who scoffed have come to appreciate them at least in theory. They are vindicating themselves and the world seems to be steadily moving towards peace....

It appears from the letters that I have been receiving from you that you have been giving serious thought to your future career. It would no doubt remove all uncertainty if the future line was chalked out and demarcated clearly, but you should not bother about it too much. Certain parts of your letter indicate that you are rather worried on this account. I do not see why you should be at all uneasy. There is room for character and merit everywhere. You have besides varied attainments and rare qualities. There is room for men like you everywhere. I do not at all anticipate any difficulty in fixing you up in any

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

manner you like. Even without my assistance you can secure a place of distinction wherever you choose to work and howsoever you wish to occupy your time and talents. I would really feel sorry, if not concerned, if you let your spirits be depressed even momentarily. Please be always of good cheer and never let any shadow to cross your path. Let me have a line soon. If you feel lonely at any time or have any impulse to come here you need not be deterred by the idea of the expenditure that such a trip might involve.

All are quite well here.

Yours affectionately,

Babu

### 10. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

22nd October 1955

My dear Raja,

I have received your letters. They are ever so delightful and interesting. I have no clear idea of the programme that you have chalked out but it appears that you have often to move from one place to another. Though it may involve a little physical inconvenience still it offers several other advantages. Trust you are maintaining your health and spirits. I feel reassured by your last letter which I got only today. That is my only desire. For the rest you can arrange things as you consider best. Pussi and Lachhi were greatly perplexed when I told them that you had been occasionally cooking your meals yourself. They did not consider you capable at least of this feat. They cannot, I am afraid, do equally well. By the time you come back you may even beat them in their own specialized game. Hope you are not over-doing it. It is not after all a very pleasant pastime. You will be soon going to Karlsruhe but before that you propose to pay a visit to Paris. In its gentle culture it has always been supreme. I do not know if the people there have got over the immense loss and devastation that their country had to suffer as a sequel to the last war. They had hardly any breathing space. Theirs has been a life of continuous struggle especially during the last 40 or 50 years. But in spite of all the horrors and rigours of war they have not allowed their basic values of life to be affected. Their art of living has many fine characteristics and they have through their virtues attracted peoples from other countries and almost won the friendship of most of them.

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

It appears from your last letter that you have seen the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. I am not sure if you have received any copy of the full report. If you are interested I can easily send you one. Many ticklish problems have now to be tackled. It has greatly added to my labours and I doubt if for some time to come I shall be able to attend to anything else. But I am not at all worried. Somehow I manage to muddle through and seldom feel baffled or vanquished....

Yours affectionately,

G.B. Pant

## 11. To K.C. Pant <sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

November 17, 1955

My dear Raja,

I have been receiving your delightful letters regularly. They bring me not only news about you but also a lot of interesting information with which I am not quite familiar. I may have caused you some disappointment owing to my failure to write to you for, I imagine, something like three weeks. It is a very long gap and I feel that I should have been more careful but there has been tremendous pressure on my time. A series of events have contributed towards it—the publication of the States Reorganisation Commission's report and its aftermath, the tours that I had to undertake from time to time and the numberless meetings of various bodies which I had to attend not only here but also sometimes even outside. Time flies so fast. But in spite of being apparently busy when one makes a review the achievements seem to be at best only insignificant. I went to Assam for about a week and was greatly impressed by its superb beauty. I passed through hills and valleys and also used all means of transport but had no feeling of fatigue at any time in spite of strenuous journeys and crowded programme for days and goodly part of the nights. This is a land, as I said in one of my speeches there, of rhyme and rhythm and dance and music. It has been regarded as such from the very ancient times. Now there are many contrasts. Even in the heart of the city one sees on one side the highly educated almost Americanised products of missionary education and breeding and on the other virtually naked youths of the unsophisticated Naga tribe. These primitive people are sturdy and robust. Still they retain many of their virtues and cultural traits, but they lack the amenities of modern life completely. They have not received adequate attention in the past and have not consequently yet devel-

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

oped a feeling of genuine patriotism and unity with India. I hope that steps will now be taken speedily to reclaim them without upsetting their age-long culture. Their way of life is not essentially wholesome and being isolated from the rest of the world they have been denied the opportunities of developing and enriching it. Our endeavour should now be to make available such opportunities to them.

Jawaharlalji's birthday was observed as usual on the 14th of this month. This has now become a festive occasion for the children. Thousands assembled here in the Stadium in their colourful saris and uniforms. He was the recipient of messages from all over the world. He continues rising in stature and winning still more respect, confidence and affection....

Bulganin is coming here tomorrow with his big party. Grand preparations are being made for his reception. He is to stay and go round the country for about three weeks. People are proud of the ovation that Jawaharlalji received in Russia <sup>2</sup> and are conscious of the obligation which they consequently owe to the Russian guests.

Everyone who is coming here after meeting you has spoken highly about you. Satya Narain was the last. He went to the Arctic. I do not know if he saw you on his return journey. He brought some photos in which he and you or you alone appear....

Yours,  
Babu

2. Nehru visited Russia and some European countries in June-July 1955.

## 12. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 2, 1955

My dear Raja,

x

x

x

x

You must be reading, as appears from your letter, reports of Bulganin's triumphal tour. He has been receiving tremendous welcome wherever he goes. The pace was set by Delhi and has been well kept and often surpassed by other places. People have shown remarkable discipline and organising capacity. Government here especially the Prime Minister gave the hint and it was rightly

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

acted up to by all. That in a way indicates the hold that the Prime Minister has. In Calcutta day before yesterday the meeting was attended by no less than two million people. It was a veritable sea of humanity. I wonder if such a gathering except perhaps on a markedly festive occasion has ever been noticed anywhere. Yet everything passed off smoothly. The people assembled, listened and dispersed without causing in the least disturbance anywhere or to anybody. The Soviet leaders have been delivering long speeches. They are naturally impressed by the more than royal welcome that has been accorded to them. It would perhaps have been more appropriate if they had observed a little more restraint in their utterances, but that is perhaps not the Russian way. They have not had the discipline or diplomacy and their way of life being markedly different colours their attitude towards all matters. Yet they seem to be sincerely hankering after peace, subject, no doubt, to the preservation of their own national freedom and ideology. They have gone to Burma and will be returning to Kashmir after about a week and again to Delhi for two or three days thereafter. We had some talks with them about national affairs and may again discuss some economic and other questions on their return....

We had Jawaharlalji's birthday on the 14th November. It was a gala day for the children of India. Now we will be celebrating Rajendra Babu's birthday tomorrow. It is in that connection that I have been asked to proceed to Patna just for a few hours. I shall be back here on the 4th. You will have no doubt drawn up your plan for the next three or four months. How long are you to stay where you are at present? What is your usual routine?

I have noted with interest the views expressed by the Professor, whose lecture you had occasion to attend, about the likely dangers of reorganisation on a linguistic basis. I cannot say that his apprehensions are altogether unfounded, but taking everything into account I still hope that his forebodings will not materialise.

Hope you are taking due care to protect yourself against the chill and cold that will continue growing and worsening for some weeks yet.

Yours affectionately,  
Babu

### 13. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 19, 1955

My dear Raja,

x x x x

We are having discussions over the States Reorganisation Commission's report in Parliament these days. The debate in the Lok Sabha started on the 14th and that in the Rajya Sabha today. It will be closed in both on the 23rd on which date the Houses disperse. Presumably we will have no session again till about the middle of February. The annual session of the Congress is going to be held in Amritsar this year in the second week of February. There are sharp controversies over the S.R.C. proposals in the Punjab but this need not affect the programme of the Congress....

The weather must be terribly cold there these days. I hope you have necessary clothing, bedding, etc. I have a new suit and a good overcoat. I wonder if your room is kept warm or you have to keep the fire on. Are you having any snow these days? Swimming in the pool must be rather trying though refreshing in this weather. Here too we are having a sort of cold wave since yesterday but there is nothing to compare with what you have to face there.

This is the festive season. Preparations for the observance of Christmas must be progressing these days. This is the season of rejoicing and merry making there and almost everyone looks forward to it for rest and recuperation. You too may be having a holiday. Are you sticking to your place or going out for a change just for a few days?...

Yours affectionately,  
Babu

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.



14. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
29th December, 1955

My dear Raja,

I received your letter, I think, on the 23rd. As was indicated therein you may be out for the Christmas. Manjul<sup>2</sup> has probably accompanied you. Being not used to such environment and to such intense cold which must be almost at its height these days, he must be finding it interesting if not disagreeable. We are having cold wave even here. The night temperature goes very near the freezing point. Even in daytime it is not quite pleasant indoors without a heater. The Christmas season there is inevitably associated with snow skiing and other similar games. It is heartening, I imagine, for those who have never seen a flake of snow to see how people should be able to find real joyful entertainment when the entire landscape is white presenting a frigid look because of sleet and snow. It is some years since I last had occasion to see a snowfall. I think it was at Nainital. I would have enjoyed the sight even now, but unless one goes up to the hills one cannot get the desired opportunity.

I had an intention of going to the South during this week but ultimately I decided not to move out. I had agreed to deliver the convocation address at the Karnataka University at Dharwar. I may go for a day or two to Lucknow on Saturday, but even that is not certain. Debimama<sup>3</sup> is here these days. He came here about a week ago. He does not find much difference between the weather at Almora and Delhi so far as nights are concerned, and in the daytime perhaps it is a bit better here. I had a short talk with Girish<sup>4</sup> and Lachhi on Sunday, but Bhawwa had gone to sleep. So I could not find an occasion to exchange a word or two with him.

We had a long debate on the S.R.C. proposals in both Houses of Parliament. Now a Bill embodying the decisions of Government on these proposals will be circulated to the States and later introduced in the Lok Sabha. The attention of all political parties and politically conscious people is riveted on this question at present. It has given rise to several intricate issues and controversies that have become somewhat sharp and even fierce at some places and will take some time to settle down. Yet on the whole the progress does not seem to be unsatisfactory, and it may be possible to close this chapter by the end of the next year....

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

2. Chandra Datt Pande's son who had also gone to Germany for higher studies.

3. Debi Datt Joshi; maternal uncle of G.B. Pant and son of Raghubar Datt Joshi, brother of G.B. Pant's maternal grandfather.

4. Lakshmi's husband and G.B. Pant's son-in-law.

The Industrial Exhibition here has attracted large crowds. The number of visitors on some days is reported to have gone beyond a lakh. There are long queues waiting for tickets and some stalls especially the German, the Chinese and the Russian have made a deep impression on the visitors....

With love and best wishes for the New Year for you both,

Yours,  
Babu

## 15. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

Camp, Amritsar  
February 13, 1956

My dear Raja,

I have your letter of the 6th. It reached me here at Amritsar. I came here on the 7th for the Congress session which concluded late last night. As you know Amritsar is the centre of the Sikhs. It has its celebrated Golden Temple and the town is for the most part dominated by the Akalis. Three conferences were held here simultaneously—(i) by the Akalis; (ii) by the militant section of Hindus who are wedded to the idea of Maha Punjab, and (iii) the Congress. The Akalis laboured hard to put up a good show and made very strenuous efforts to collect the Sikhs from all over the Punjab and PEPSU. Their procession was well organised and covered a distance of not less than two miles. They passed by our Congress *Pandal* when we were having our deliberations but the *Pandal* being quite a big and commodious one, their slogans did not disturb our proceedings. The Maha Punjab people were perhaps not successful in beating their rivals. In their procession, as in their conference, the numbers were much less—perhaps not more than a third of the Akali congregation. The Congress Session was quite successful. We had several meetings of the Working Committee, followed by those of the Subjects Committee and the Open Session of the full Congress. Throughout a high standard was maintained and the problems which are facing the country were tackled in a responsible and dignified manner. The decisions taken would prove helpful in our onward march. The S.R.C. proposals were the main topics of discussion. No definite proposal emerged out of these discussions there, but the atmosphere was cleared to a large extent and embittered feelings were relaxed and prevailing tension has given place to greater understanding. *The Hindustan Times* that you will be getting next week will give you a fair idea of what happened.

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

This and the following letter were sent to Karlsruhe, Germany.

Presumably you are keeping in constant touch through letters with Manjul. He must naturally be somewhat uneasy in unfamiliar surroundings. I wonder if he has any other Indian in his neighbourhood. But this feeling of loneliness will gradually wear off and if he continues to take active part in games and sports he will develop contact with other sportsmen and build up new friendships. It is, however, bound to take some time.

You had to face a very severe and unusual spell of cold. I am relieved to learn from your letter that the wave has passed off and the weather has improved. Still it should be touching the freezing point between sunset and sunrise. You seem not to worry about it too much. To some extent that is good. Still certain amount of care has to be taken. When one happens to be in the midst of unusual atmosphere and environment, the system has to be adjusted. Even strong and healthy physique does call for tender care and attention to stand the rigour of inclement climate or weather.

How do you spend your time these days? You are perhaps not attending the factory, but concentrating on your studies. I must confess that I have no clear idea about your programme. I do not worry about it as I have perfect confidence in your judgement.

I hope to reach Delhi at about 5.00 this afternoon.

Yours affectionately,  
Babu

## 16. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
27th February, 1956

My dear Raja,

I was happy to receive your letters and am glad to find that in spite of the unusual cold you enjoyed your visit to Mainz. The Carnival festivities and especially the procession seem to have been sufficiently grand and impressive. I wonder if we have anything exactly like that in our country. We have however a number of festive occasions, such as *Dusehra*, *Holi*, etc. Processions are almost an integral part of our social life. They do not seem to be equally common in the West. I am fervently looking forward to the opportunity which I will get on your return of seeing the films prepared by you at Mainz. I wonder if the movie camera which you have purchased is sufficiently adequate for your needs. Perhaps a better and bigger one would be more useful and fruitful.

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

We have had to mourn the death of 2 or 3 eminent men during the last few days. Acharya Narendra Dev expired about a week ago. The Chief Justice of India who had been ailing for some time also expired recently.<sup>2</sup> Today we had the shocking news of the death of our Speaker Mavalankar. He was not only an excellent and accomplished politician but a really great man in the true sense of the term. He was interested in a number of constructive activities and was as clean and pure in mind and in spirit as were his surroundings and his dress. He had, however, been ailing for several months although he did not allow his illness to come in the way of the discharge of his duties. Heart disease is a treacherous one and those who suffer from it may fall a victim to it at any time. We will have to find a successor to Mavalankar.<sup>3</sup> None can come up to his standard. Still the world goes on. Change is the inevitable law and one has to manage with the tools, the stuff one can manage to find.

Parliament has been in session since the 15th. The whole of the last week was virtually taken up by discussions on the President's address in both Houses. We had lively debates in both Chambers.<sup>4</sup> The speakers mostly concentrated on the States Reorganisation Commission's report which gripped the minds of the people especially politicians and it continues to be the main topic of discussion and negotiation. We have been having long talks with the Akalis but no final decisions have yet been reached. It is difficult to hazard any guess but it is likely that matters may be satisfactorily settled....

Weather here is changing and is steadily growing warm. According to reports it seems to be still chilly and cold in most parts of Europe. The temperature roundabout you must be still going below the freezing point during part of the night even now. Hope you are taking good care.

Yours affectionately,  
Babu

2. Bijan Kumar Mukherjee, the Chief Justice of India, died on 22nd February.

3. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar became the next Speaker of Lok Sabha.

4. For Pant's speech delivered during the discussion in the Rajya Sabha on 23 February see pp. 59-69.

## 17. 'To K.C. Pant'

New Delhi  
March 11, 1956

My dear Raja,

I had gone out to Hardwar on Friday evening and returned here only this morning. I was invited to participate in certain functions and as it was *Shivratri* yesterday I agreed to do so mainly because it was an appropriate occasion for visiting Hardwar. Your mother would have probably accompanied me but as she got the news of the death of her mother, that is your grandmother, on Friday morning she was not in a mood to stir out...

So you have come back from Karlsruhe. I gather from your letter that you have no intention of going back to that place again. Have you completed the studies that you had chalked out for that place? You are probably, as you had written to me in one of your letters, not taking any degree. That would necessitate a prolonged stay and so far as practical competency is concerned one hardly adds to his real capacity and work thereby. You seem to have influenced a large number of Indian and may be even non-Indian boys by your cordial attitude towards them. The larger the number of good friends, the richer one's life grows. Where persons belonging to different countries are concerned their friendship has some influence, though ordinarily only an infinitesimal one, in forging international bonds of goodwill.

I am glad to know that the weather is now rapidly improving. You had an exceptionally cold winter and the change must be to the liking of everyone. I hope except perhaps for a little while in the night the temperature does not go down to zero now.

You may have seen Manjul since you wrote to me last. How is he shaping? He must be gathering experience and along with that certain amount of self-confidence. Still he will continue to lean on you for a good deal of long time yet.

Our Budget was presented and published on the last day of the last month. It was found that one of the proof copies had been spirited away by somebody to Bombay a day or two earlier. At least some of them have been arrested but little real harm was done to public economy or business interests by this leakage....

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

This and the following two letters were sent to Frankfurt, Germany.

## 18. To K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
21st/23rd April, 1956

My dear Raja,

I have just received your letter of 18th instant. I am sorry that I have been somewhat delayed in replying to your previous letter which arrived here I am afraid about a week ago.

Pussy's wedding has now been fixed up for the 17th May. I would have preferred its being solemnized here but Nandan and others found difficulty in accepting this suggestion; I appreciate their position. The temperature has already gone up here to about 105 and it is sure to rise by another 5 or 8 degrees in the course of the next four weeks. So for people coming from the hills the heat here will be particularly disagreeable and pricking. I am, however, in somewhat tight position as some important Bills have to be carried through the Parliament in the course of the next few weeks. On the 23rd the States Reorganisation Bill is to be brought before the House for reference to the Select Committee. This will be followed by another Bill for amending the Constitution with regard to matters arising out of the proposals for the reorganisation of States.<sup>2</sup> The Select Committee will then sit continuously for a number of days so that it may send up its report without the least delay. However, as I cannot altogether keep myself away from the functions at Naini some interruption will become inevitable. I doubt, however, if I shall be in a position to give more than 4 or 5 days at the outside. The programme has not yet been fixed up and nobody has yet moved to Naini Tal. We have reserved a General's house there which is close to the Motor Terminus for our use. It is being put in shape. Anyway, I trust we will find it adequate for our needs. Necessary articles have also been acquired, at least a goodly number and a few remaining will be purchased within the next few days.

I am not worried about myself but from your letters I still have a feeling that this date does not quite suit your convenience. I would have put it off for sometime if I had been able to anticipate the strain that these arrangements is likely to put on you but things have perhaps advanced too far to be retraced now. I hope you will be able to meet the gentleman, whom you have so far not succeeded in seeing because of his illness, in a day or two. No objection will probably come from that quarter. If there be any real hitch you might let me know.

Chandradatt<sup>3</sup> has been hearing regularly from Manjul. He will no doubt

1. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

2. The reference was to the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill. See also pp. 169-73.

3. C.D. Pande.

feel somewhat disconsolate during your absence but it will not weigh too heavy on him as he has had his apprenticeship with you and must have become familiar with at least routine matters of everyday life by now.

I note with interest about the recent snowfall roundabout you. It looks so curious that you should be having such weather there while we are in a way sweltering here. Hot winds have begun blowing but the nights are cool and pleasant.

Bhawwa and everybody else are all right.

Yours,  
Babu

## 19. K.C. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
May 2, 1956

My dear Raja,

I have just received your letter of 28th April. I was glad to have this definite intimation about the date and time of your arrival here in Delhi. I shall be expecting you on the 9th at 6.45 in the evening. Someone will meet you also at the aerodrome on the arrival of your plane. Hope you will have a comfortable voyage.

You have not given any indication—and I think rightly—of the talks you had with the Uhdes. I will learn everything from you when you reach here. Their attitude has always been as you observe, quite reasonable. They seem to have a high opinion of your talents. However, till I know more, I cannot exactly imagine what they have proposed or how you have reacted towards their proposals.

You seem to have made a goodly number of friends there. They all will miss you. Presumably till the time of your departure you will have to give much of your time to these formal farewells from your colleagues there.

How is Manjul faring? He will feel rather lonely after you have left Germany. But he has, I imagine, found his feet and may now feel less desolate than he would have done if you had left earlier....

If Manjul is with you, give him my love.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

1. Extracts. Courtesy: K.C. Pant.

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GENERAL

II. Personal-II



## 1. To Padmaja Naidu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
1 August 1955

Dear Padmaja,<sup>2</sup>

I was happy to see your handwriting after a long time. May I thank you for the immense pain that you have taken to write about the activities of the Nizam some of which have already been brought to our notice? I have written to him twice or thrice about some of these matters and am hopeful of wholesome reaction. We are giving thought to the rest of them and trust that when I am in Hyderabad nearabout the 20th of this month I shall have occasion to discuss them in greater detail with you. I have called for full information about Asima Khatoon and meanwhile given instructions that she need not leave on the 1st of August.

It is long since we met and I am looking forward to the welcome opportunity of having some delightful and homely time with you when I am in Hyderabad.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

1. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. B.1900; daughter of Sarojini Naidu; member All India Handicrafts Board; Governor of West Bengal 1956-67; awarded Padma Vibhushan in 1962; chairman of executive council of Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and vice-chairman of Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund from 1968 till her death in 1975.

## 2. To Padmaja Naidu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
7 August 1955

My dear Padmaja

I thank you for your letter of 3rd August. I would have been happy to spend the few days of my stay in Hyderabad under your roof. I would have found the best of comfort not only physically but also mentally there. But as you are

1. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L.

aware I am in the hands of Ramakrishna Rao<sup>2</sup> and being not a free agent would not like to disturb the arrangements at least now. It is hardly necessary for you to ask me to have some meals with you. Golden Threshold is like a home to me and I do not stand in need of any invitation there.

Hope Lyneka is thriving.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

2. Chief Minister of Hyderabad; see also fn. 2 on p. 114.

### 3. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
12th September 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I am grateful to you for your message of good wishes.<sup>2</sup> My handicaps and disabilities are growing with advancing age, but I am sustained by your affection in carrying on the task allotted to me by you. The cheering messages received from you on such occasions have always heartened me and given me fresh strength.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No. 38(24)/56-61-PM, Sr. No. 16A. P.M.O.  
2. Sent on Pant's birthday which fell on 10 September.

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GENERAL

III. Miscellaneous



## 1. To Bhagwan Das<sup>1</sup>

Camp: Naini Tal  
10th June 1955

My dear Babuji,<sup>2</sup>

I am really grateful to you for your very kind letter of 18th May. It was so good of you to let me have an inkling as to the working of your mind. Your analysis being based on a detached appreciation of the situation is entitled to great weight. It can show us the way and serve as a corrective whenever we are derailed. Growth of our population is one of our most serious problems and the remedies that have been adopted so far have not proved effective. It is also recognized that the educational system needs to be overhauled. Many schemes have been drawn up by those who claim to be experts in this matter but with very little unanimity. Similarly there are deficiencies in the administration. While attempts are being made to set things right, results have not been quite commensurate. I venture to hope that with the growth of cooperative spirit, which is at present visible almost everywhere, our people will soon turn the corner and make a speedy progress.

I read in the papers this morning that Jawaharlalji received a royal welcome on his arrival at Moscow. He has succeeded in raising the status of our country in the international world and under his guidance it should also gain internal strength.<sup>3</sup>

Hope you are taking due care of your health.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. Bhagwan Das Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. B.1869; scholar and philosopher; founder-member Central Hindu College, Benares Hindu University and Kashi Vidyapith; member Central Legislative Assembly 1935-37; member Constituent Assembly; awarded Bharat Ratna in 1955; d. 1958; publications include *The Essential Unity of all Religions* and *Manu's Code of Life*.

3. Nehru had gone on a tour of the Soviet Union and some countries of eastern Europe and returned on 13 July.

## 2. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
30th December 1955

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have seen your observations on the revision of security arrangements for your tours. Mullick's note, copy enclosed herewith, meets the points except in the matter of use of open car.<sup>2</sup> It is obviously impractical to rule it out completely. I however appreciate the sense of anxiety of the security people in this respect and also the hazards of travelling by open car. Although one can understand the embarrassment to which Chief Ministers might be put, the better course appears to be to ask them to arrange for a closed car where they consider it necessary and unavoidable.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 410, p. 222, N.M.M.L.
2. Commenting on the Director of Intelligence Bureau B.N. Mullick's note of 25 November saying that the present rule "that the Prime Minister will travel in a closed car except in certain exceptional circumstances" should be retained, Nehru had observed that "the use of open cars should be the general practice and closed cars should be used only during long journeys or in the middle of the day when an open car may be uncomfortable".

## 3. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
14/15th February 1956

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>2</sup>

You spoke to me at Amritsar about the proposal for the change of the name of 'Banaras' to 'Varanasi'.<sup>3</sup> I have looked into the matter. The proposal has been accepted. Formal orders will be conveyed officially shortly.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No. 365/55-Pub. I, Ministry of Home Affairs, N.A.I.
2. Chief Minister of U.P. 1955-60; see also fn. 4 on p. 366.
3. Sampurnanand had also written to Pant on 16 January reminding him that, at a meeting of the Buddha Jayanti Celebration Committee at which he (Pant) was present, "it was resolved that the name of Banaras should be changed to Varanasi from May 24."



#### 4. To Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15th March 1956

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have just received your letter about Narendra Dev's debts etc. I had a talk with Sri Prakasa<sup>2</sup> about this matter when he was here last. I received a letter from him today and have already noted on it that Rs.15,000 may be remitted out of my discretionary grant to Sri Prakasa to be used for the benefit of Narendra Dev's family. This is in fact more than what Sri Prakasa expected from me.<sup>3</sup> In the circumstances it may not be necessary for you to find anything more. The amount I am sending might well be deemed to have been sanctioned by you. I am returning Sri Prakasa's letter.

I have seen your letter to Master Tara Singh.<sup>4</sup> I met Hukam Singh<sup>5</sup> at Chhattari's<sup>6</sup> party yesterday and have had no talks with him since his return from Amritsar. As he told me he will probably be meeting me one of these days.

Yours affectionately,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No. 2(60)/56-PM, Sr. No. 4A, P.M.O.
2. B.1890; prominent Congressman from Varanasi; General Secretary U.P.P.C.C. 1928-34, and President 1934-35; elected to Central Legislative Assembly in 1934 and 1945; member Constituent Assembly; High Commissioner to Pakistan 1947-49; Governor of Assam 1949-50; Union Minister for Commerce 1950-51, and of Natural Resources and Scientific Research 1951-52; Governor of Madras 1952-56, and Maharashtra 1956-62; d. 1973.
3. In fact, Sri Prakasa had asked Nehru to send him a sum of Rs.18,000 to clear off the debts of Narendra Deva.
4. B.1885; prominent Akali Sikh leader; led Gurdwara reform movement; arrested during civil disobedience movement in 1930; attended Second Round Table Conference; member All India Congress Committee; President Central Sikh League; Vice-President Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.); opposed Muslim League demand for Pakistan; presided over first U.P. Sikh Conference at Lucknow in 1940; led an agitation for division of East Pakistan to form a Sikh-majority state; d. 1967.
5. On 20 March, he became Deputy Speaker of Lok Sabha. See also fn. 3 on p. 133.
6. Muhammad Ahmad Sa'id Khan, Nawab of Chhattari; b. 1889; member U.P. Legislative Council 1920-34, and U.P. Legislative Assembly 1936-46; Minister and later Home Member U.P.; attended Round Table Conference in 1932; officiating Governor of U.P. 1933; Prime Minister of Hyderabad 1947; member of Rajya Sabha for two terms; d. 1982.

## 5. To Durgabai Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
Dated, June 15, 1956

My dear Durgabaiji,<sup>2</sup>

I have to thank you for your letter of 25th May which I received just about the time I was to leave for Bombay. I have gone through your note enclosed therewith, which fully and ably deals with the points raised by the organisers of the Conference of Social Work in their memorandum. The Prime Minister had sent a copy of the letter to which you have referred also to me. You have taken great pains over the matter and dealt with it exhaustively. I am in agreement with most of what you say. I do not myself appreciate the need of creating a full-fledged Ministry of Social Welfare. Barring two or three, every Ministry performs social welfare work in some field or other. Such work cannot be separated from the normal activities of the Ministries concerned. So even if an independent Ministry were set up it would not as such be in a position to coordinate welfare activities of all the Ministries. The Social Welfare Board can do a great deal in this respect without impinging on the sphere of any Ministry. I hope that the present arrangement will continue and prove fruitful and satisfactory.

Yours sincerely,  
G.B. Pant

1. File No. 2(90)/56-57-PM, Sr. No.11A, P.M.O.; also in J.N. Papers, File No. 452, p.16, N.M.M.L.
2. B. 1909; imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; member Constituent Assembly 1946-50; member Planning Commission 1950-54; chairman Central Social Welfare Board 1952-62; d. 1981.

## **APPENDIX**



## 1. Jawaharlal Nehru to Mahomed Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 21, 1955

My dear Prime Minister,

On the 14th July your High Commissioner in Delhi communicated a message from you to me. This message related to certain statements made by our Home Minister, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, in Srinagar early in July. I have seen the newspaper reports to which you have drawn my attention and have also consulted our Home Minister about them. Those reports are not textually accurate in some places, but generally speaking they represent what he said, more especially, at the press conference held in Srinagar.

2. I do not think you will find in the Home Minister's statements any repudiation of the assurances given or commitments made on behalf of the Government of India in regard to Kashmir. What he has said is that those assurances and commitments could not be given effect to because of the attitude of the Pakistan Government during these past years. Further that during the past seven or eight years many developments have taken place and conditions have also changed considerably. Because of these developments and changed conditions, he has stated that "the tide cannot be turned". This is his estimate of the situation. He has further referred to the present constitutional relationship between India and the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

3. There is thus no question of any repudiation of an undertaking made on behalf of India, whether it was unilateral or international. As for the statement in your letter to the effect that failure to arrive at a settlement was not the fault of Pakistan and that India was responsible for it, this is a subject on which, it is obvious, we differ from you entirely. The history of these long drawn-out negotiations during the past seven years is recorded in many volumes. During this period there have been numerous arguments between India and Pakistan on this subject and we have differed completely. You will not expect me to enter into this long argument here about what has happened in these past years. The fact is that the two respective viewpoints in regard to Kashmir have been opposed to each other and it is our opinion that the attitude taken up by Pakistan in the past has come in the way of a settlement which we were so anxious to reach.

4. In addition to your letter addressed to me, our Ministry of External Affairs have received a communication from your High Commission in India dated the 15th July. This communication repeats much that is said in your

1. J.N. Papers, File No. 363, pp. 130-2, N.M.M.L.

letter. It goes on to say that "At no stage in the subsequent negotiations over the Kashmir dispute, including direct negotiations between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, has a view such as that expressed by the Hon'ble Home Minister been ever put forward by the Government of India".

5. You are aware of the repeated difficulties that have arisen in the course of our negotiations. Indeed, you refer to some of them in your letter. But, quite apart from this, you will no doubt remember our last conversations on this subject in Delhi when both you and General Iskander Mirza were present.<sup>2</sup> On India's side, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant and I were present. On that occasion we spoke fully and frankly to each other. I stated clearly that while we fully adhered to our assurances and commitments, it was manifest that great changes had taken place in the State during this period and that they could not be ignored. Among other things, I pointed out the constitutional position as it existed insofar as we were concerned. I read out then the provision of the Constitution of India as contained in a proviso to Article 253 of the Constitution. This ran as follows:

Provided that after the commencement of the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, no decision affecting the disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be made by the Government of India without the consent of the Government of that State.

We are naturally bound by this provision of our own Constitution. This does not amount to a repudiation of any of the assurances given by us in the past, but it is an important element in the consideration of the problem today. As I stated in the course of our talks then, the Jammu and Kashmir State was an autonomous State in the Union of India. Nearly all of our States are autonomous and have large powers with which the Central Government cannot interfere. The Jammu and Kashmir State, however, has been given a rather special position with even larger powers.

6. Apart from this constitutional position, I pointed out to you and General Iskander Mirza that any attempt to solve this problem had to take into consideration all the developments that had taken place during the past seven or eight years. We were dealing with a human problem and we could take no step which might result, instead of a settlement, in upsets and upheavals which should be harmful not only to the people of the State but to Pakistan and India. I need not repeat all that was said on that occasion between us as you will no doubt have it in mind.

7. Because of this situation that we have to face, there were two courses open to us. One was that we should pursue the old line of discussion again

2. The Pakistan Prime Minister Mahomed Ali and the Minister for Interior Iskander Mirza had talks with Indian leaders in Delhi from 14 to 18 May 1955.

which had thus far led to no satisfactory result, and indeed pursue it when further difficulties and complications had arisen. Obviously, this was not a hopeful prospect.

8. The other course was to try to discover some other line of approach which might yield better results. It was because of this that we did discuss other lines of approach. You told us then that you were not in a position to commit yourself at that stage to the suggestions I had put forward. I was not prepared to accept some of the suggestions that you had put forward. But the point I should like to make is that both you and I put forward suggestions and proposals which were not in line with our previous approach to this question.

9. Because we could not agree at that time, we decided to consider this matter further and consult our respective Governments before we met again.

10. That was the position when we parted in Delhi and that is the position today. Nothing that our Home Minister has said has affected that position. I would repeat that there is no question of our repudiating any commitment made by us. But if we want a peaceful settlement of this problem, a settlement which is in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir, and a settlement which does not create upsets, then we have to take a realistic view of what has happened during these years and what the position is today. Otherwise it would be no settlement at all. As a matter of fact, ever since we met in Delhi, other developments have taken place at the instance of Pakistan which add to our difficulties.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru





## CHRONOLOGY

1887,	August 30*	Birth at Khunt, Almora
1897		Admission to Primary School in Ramsay College, Almora
1899		First marriage
1903		Passed High School examination from Ramsay College
1905		Passed Intermediate examination
		Joined Muir Central College, Allahabad University
		Attended Congress session at Benares as a Congress volunteer
1907		Passed B.A. examination
		Joined School of Law in Allahabad University
1909		Death of son and wife
		Topped in Law examination and awarded Lumsden Gold Medal
1910		Started legal practice in Almora
1912		Second marriage
1913		Death of father
1914		Death of second wife
		Established Prem Sabha in Kashipur to promote social reforms
		Established Uday Raj Hindu High School at Kashipur
1916		Third marriage
		Nominated as a member to the Notified Area Committee, Kashipur, and Chairman of its Education Committee
		Founded Kumaun Parishad
		Delegate from Kumaun to Lucknow Congress
1919		Death of mother
	December 22–24	Secretary of third session of Kumaun Parishad at Kotdwara, Garhwal
1920		Elected Chairman of Naini Tal District Board
		Fought election to U.P. Legislative Council and defeated
1921		Attended Congress session at Ahmedabad
1923		Elected to U.P. Council
1924		Elected leader of Swaraj Party in U.P. Council

Pant was born on Anantachaturdasi Day in Vikram Samvat 1944, Tuesday, 30 August 1887. But since 1946 his birth anniversary is celebrated on 10 September which was Anantachaturdasi Day that year.

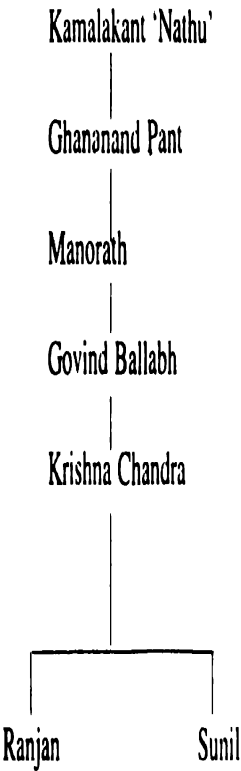
## CHRONOLOGY

1926,	November	Won election to U.P. Council by a big majority
1927,	November 26	Presided over U.P. Political Conference at Aligarh
	November 29	Led a procession, along with Jawaharlal Nehru, against Simon Commission at Lucknow and received lathi blows from the police
1928,	July	Re-elected Chairman, Naini Tal District Board
	July 28	Birth of daughter (Lakshmi)
1929,	October	Admitted to Lucknow Medical College hospital due to pain in backbone
1930,	May 25	Sentenced to six months' imprisonment for violating Salt Law
	November 22	Released from Bareilly jail because of illness
1931,	August 30	Birth of son (Krishna Chandra Pant)
1932,	February 18	Arrested for civil disobedience and jailed
	November	Organized Kurmanchal Samaj Sammelan (Untouchability Conference) at Almora
1934,	November	Elected unopposed to Central Legislative Assembly
	December 25	Birth of daughter (Pushpa)
1935,	January 17	Elected deputy leader of Congress Party in Central Legislative Assembly
	January 21	Took oath in the Central Legislative Assembly
	June	Elected President, Naini Tal District Congress
1936,	September	Nominated to the Congress Working Committee
1937,	February	Elected to U.P. Legislative Assembly
	March	Elected leader of Congress Party in U.P. Assembly
	July 17	Premier of U.P.
1938,	February 15	Tendered his resignation and that of his Cabinet on the issue of release of political prisoners
	February 25	Withdrew the resignation
1939,	March	Attended Tripuri Congress and moved what is known as "Pant resolution"
	October 27	Moved "war resolution" in the U.P. Council
	October 30	Tendered resignation of the Ministry
1940,	November 24	Arrested in individual satyagraha movement and sentenced to one year's imprisonment
1941,	October 17	Released from Almora District Jail
1942,	August 9	Arrested in Quit India movement in Bombay and "detained" in Ahmadnagar Fort Prison for nearly 32 months
1945,	March 31	Released from Bareilly Central Prison
	June 25–July 14	Took part in Simla Conference
1945–46,	December–January	Campaigned for elections in U.P.
1946,	April 1	Chief Minister, U.P.
1946–1950		Member, Constituent Assembly
1947,	August 15	Sworn in as Chief Minister after Independence
1952,	July 1	Abolition of zamindari system in U.P.
1953		Introduction of Panchayat Raj in U.P.

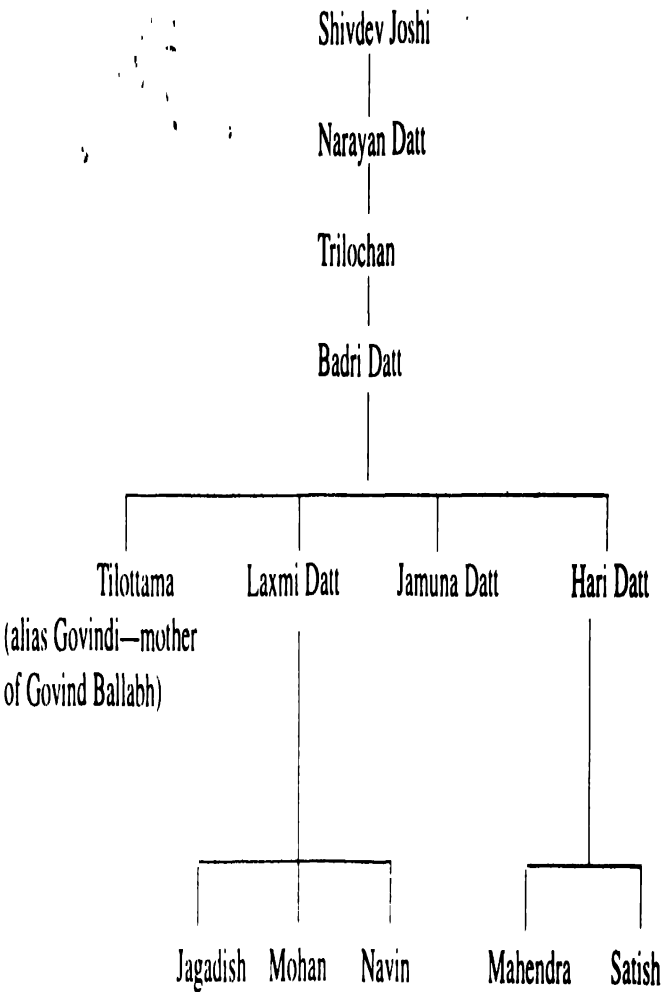
1954,	December	Invited to join Union Cabinet
1955	January	Appointed Union Home Minister
	April 27	Introduced Abolition of Untouchability Bill in Lok Sabha
	July 9	Made a statement about Kashmir, declaring its accession to India as final
1956,	April 18	Moved the States Reorganization Bill in Lok Sabha
	August	Took over Heavy Industries in addition to Home
1957,	January 26	Awarded Bharat Ratna
	April 23	Inaugurated first Zonal Council (Northern) meeting at New Delhi
	August 3	Introduced the Essential Services Maintenance Bill in Lok Sabha to stop the threatened strike of Government servants
	November 16	Presided over the meeting of the Parliamentary Committee on Official Language
1958,	September 7	Broadcast a speech on the role of public servants in a democracy
	November 8	Condemned Chinese aggression against India in a speech at Nangloi, near Delhi
1960,	March 31	Introduced the Bombay Reorganization Bill in Lok Sabha providing for the division of bilingual Bombay State into Maharashtra and Gujarat
	April	Talks with Chou En-lai in Delhi
1961,	February 20	Cerebral stroke
	March 7	Death

# GENEALOGY

*Paternal*



*Maternal*



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